

PHARSALIA AND PHILIPPI:

OR THE TWO

PHILIPPI

IN

VIRGIL'S GEORGICS

Attempted to be Explain'd and Reconcil'd to

HISTORY.

AND

All the Ancient Poets and Historians vindicated
from the Aspersions thrown on them by several Critics,
on account of their supposed Disagreement with regard
to those Battles.

In Several LETTERS to a FRIEND;

And published at his Request.

By Mr. HOLDSWORTH.

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PHILIPPI AND THE TWO
OR THE TWO
PHILIPPI
IN
VIRGIL'S GEORGICS
AND IN THE ROMAN AND ROME

Insert the Title to the first Letter, thus,

The two Battles of Philippi mention'd by Virgil in his Georgics, and copied from him by several other Poets, seemingly contradictory to History.



By Mr. HOLDEN

Printed by J. B. in the Strand

PHARSALIA and PHILIPPI:

OR

The Two *Philippi* in VIRGIL'S *Georgics*
attempted to be Explained, and Reconciled to
HISTORY, &c.

To C. J. Esq;

LETTER I.

DEAR SIR,

HAVING formerly had some discourse with you concerning *Virgil's* two battles of *Philippi*, and wanting time to solve all your doubts, and produce sufficient authorities in favour of my opinion, I beg leave to send you my thoughts thereupon in writing.— My principal aim in undertaking this task is to satisfy your curiosity, and vindicate *Virgil* from some aspersions thrown on him by the Critics; in doing which, I tell you beforehand, I shall be very tedious, and, I fear, I shall tire your patience sooner than I can defend your friend.— The subject is in itself very dry, and the discussing a point so much controverted, and in which not only *Virgil*, and several correspondent passages in other Poets, but likewise the credit of the old Historians is concerned, must necessarily swell a letter to a very great length, and my manner of treating the subject may still make it appear much longer; but if you can have as much patience to read what I have to offer, as I have had to examine the several articles of this dispute, I doubt not but you will be fully convinc'd of the truth of what I before advanced in conversation, and that we shall be as perfectly agreed in this, as I flatter myself we are in all other respects.

B

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The difficulty, you know, consists in the contradiction there seems to be between the Poets and Historians in a matter of fact. *Virgil* tells us, that " *Philippi* twice saw the Roman armies engaged against each other, meaning, first, *Julius Caesar* against *Pompey*; secondly, *Octavius Caesar* and *Antony* against *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

*Ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis
Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi;
Nec fuit indignum Superis bis sanguine nostro
Æmæthiam, & latos Hæmi pinguescere campos.*

All the other Poets who have mentioned these battles agree with *Virgil*, and seem to have copied from him; thus *Ovid*;

Æmæthiæque iterum madefient cæde Philippi.

And *Petronius*;

Cerno equidem gemino jam stratos marte Philippos.

Lucan, whom I shall have frequent occasion to mention hereafter, often speaks of both battles of *Philippi*; and *Manilius* is still more ex-

* *Dr. Lamotte* in a letter published in the History of the works of the Learned, for Jan. 1738 thinks he has solv'd this difficulty by supposing that the battle of *Pbarfalia* is in this place entirely out of the question, and that *Virgil* had regard only to the two actions that pass'd between the Romans in the plains of *Philippi*, in the first of which *Cassius* was defeated, in the latter, *Brutus*, about a month after the other. It must be own'd he has improv'd upon what *Ruæus* formerly proposed to the same purpose, and by his observation on the connection between *Ille etiam extinctus*, and *Ergo inter sese*, has enforced this argument as far as it will bear; but if he will examine *Manilius*, and the several Passages relating to *Philippi*, which I shall hereafter produce from *Lucan*, I doubt not but he will be convinced, that all the Poets by their two *Philippi* understand those two memorable actions commonly distinguish'd by the names of *Pbarfalia* and *Philippi*. At present therefore in this sense let us understand *Virgil*.

* *Catrou*, in his dissertations upon *Virgil*, mentions the like opinion of another Critic upon this passage, thus, " Un sçavant critique de nos tems tranche le nœud, & pretend que les deux batailles dont *Philippes* fût témoin furent les deux combats consecutifs, que *Brutus* & *Cassius* livrent contre *Octavien* & contre *Antoine* à la vue de *Philippes* en Thrace. De la, dit-il, les expressions de *Virgile*,

—— *Paribus concurrere telis
Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi.*

" En effet, la bataille qu'on appella de *Philippes* consista en deux actions. Dans la première, *Cassius*, qui se crût vaincu, quoique son parti eût en de l'avantage, plein d'une terreur précipitée, se fit tuer par *Pindare* son affranchi. Dans la seconde, qui se donna quelques semaines après, *Brutus* défait & vaincu, se fit donner la mort par le bras d'un de ses domestiques, pour éviter de tomber aux mains de ses vainqueurs. Voilà, dit ce critique, les deux batailles que vit la *Philippes* de Thrace.

" — *Iterum videre Philippi.*"

Then *Catrou* quotes likewise the criticism of *Ruæus* upon the same place, and prefers the latter as the more ingenious; but concludes that neither of them can be supported; it being very evident, as he says, that *bis* and *iterum* relate to two battles, that of *Pbarfalia*, and that of *Philippi*. His words are these, — " Sans doute toute la difficulté seroit anéantie par ces systèmes, s'ils étoient soutenable. Par malheur, il paroît évident, que le *bis*, & que l'*iterum*, des passages que nous examinons, tombent sur la bataille de *Pharfale*, & sur celle de *Philippes*, &c." *Notes on Virgil, Georg. i. note 19.*

* *Georg. l. i. 489.*

* *Met. lib. xv. 824.*

* *Satyr.*

prés

press than the rest, when describing, as *Virgil* does, the calamities foretold by the heavens, he says*,

*Civiles etiam motus, cognataque bella
Significant; nec plura aliàs incendia mundus
Sustinuit, quam cum, Ducibus jurata cruentis,
Arma Philippæos implerunt agmine campos.
Vix etiam siccâ miles Romanus arenâ
Ossa virûm, lacerosque priùs superastitit artus;
Imperiumque suis confixit viribus ipsum;
Perque Patris Pater Augustus vestigia vicit.*

In short, all the Poets concur in fixing the scene of both actions at *Philippi*; and yet, if any credit is to be given to ancient history, nothing can be more certain than that the former battle was fought in *Thessaly*, on the plains of *Pharsalia*; the latter on the fields of *Philippi*, near the confines of *Thrace* and *Macedonia*; above two hundred miles distant one from the other.

Upon this appearance of disagreement between the Poets and Historians, there is, as one may easily imagine, as little agreement between their Commentators: If you will give yourself the trouble to consult all their remarks, not only on this passage of *Virgil*, but on the several other Poets and Historians, who mention *Philippi*, you will find so much confusion and contradiction amongst them, that you will be apt to think *Philippi* for ever destin'd to be a field of battle, and may still say with *Virgil*,

— *Inter sese paribus concurrere telis
Romanas acies iterum vidére Philippi.*

I do not intend to engage in all their quarrels, but shall consider only such Critics, who take it for granted, that either the Poets or Historians are guilty of a gross mistake: And first, I shall shew that in this case the charge of a blunder on either is equally injurious and unreasonable; and then shall endeavour to make it appear that without the supposition of such a blunder they are fairly reconcilable.

Among the Poets, *Virgil* is principally concerned, being not only accus'd as the prime delinquent, but the occasion of others falling into the same error. Mr. *Rowe*, not to mention any more, lays this to his charge, in a note on *Philippi*, at the latter end of the first book of his Translation of *Lucan*^f, where, allowing his author to be mistaken, he does not attempt to clear him, but seems to think it sufficient excuse for him, and the other Poets, to have blunder'd after their great ma-

* Astron. lib. i.

^f p. 1118.

ster. His words are as follow: "It is pretty strange that so many great names of antiquity, as *Virgil*, *Ovid*, *Petronius*, and *Lucan* should be guilty of such a blunder in Geography, as to confound the field of battle between *Julius Cæsar* and *Pompey*, with that between *Octavius Cæsar* and *Brutus*, when it was very plain one was in the middle of *Thessaly*, and the other in *Thrace*, a great part of *Macedonia* lying between. *Sulpitius* indeed, one of the Commentators upon *Lucan*, says, there was a town call'd *Philippi*, in whose neighbourhood the battle between *Cæsar* and *Pompey* was fought; but upon what authority I know not: But, supposing that, it is undeniable that these two battles were fought in two different Countries. I must own, it seems to me to be the fault originally of *Virgil*, (upon what occasion so correct a Writer could commit so great an error is not easy to imagine) and that the rest took it very easily from him, without making any farther enquiry."

As great a veneration as you have for *Virgil*, I believe you don't think it impossible that he should err: The best writers of antiquity might perhaps now and then nod as well as ours; but in the present case, where the criticism turns purely upon matter of fact, 'tis not very modest to imagine (without evident authority) that we should be better inform'd of what happen'd in *Virgil's* days, than he was himself. Had the matter in debate been of little moment, he might thro' inadvertency have made a slip; or had it been transacted in an obscure corner of the world, and known to few persons only, he might have been misinform'd, and the mistake not discovered till this more enlighten'd age. But that the famous fields of battle, which decided the fate of the *Roman* Empire, which were situated in the most frequented part of the world, and which must be as well known as the streets of *Rome* to so many thousands of the most illiterate *Romans*, to every common soldier of both armies; that these fields should be mistaken, by so correct an author as *Virgil*, is too absurd to be conceiv'd. Dr. *Lamotte* observes, "That we should think a Poet in our days very careless, and unexact, who should tell us, that the two famous battles of *Blenheim* and *Ramillies* were fought by the Duke of *Marlborough* upon the same spot of ground." I entirely agree with him; it would, I think, be too gross even for *Grubstreet*: How then can it be imagin'd that the *Great Genius* of our age could possibly commit such a blunder? As little reason is there to suspect *Virgil*. We must consider, that at the time of the battle of *Pharsalia*, he was about twenty-three years of age; at that of *Philippi* twenty nine; was soon after introduced to court, and must undoubtedly, when he wrote his *Georgics*, have conversed with several officers, who had been engaged in both actions:

LETTER I.

5

actions: This we are sure of, that he was very intimate with *Horace*; who was present at the latter battle, if not at both, and considering the part he acted there, as himself often tells us, 'tis not unlikely that it was frequently the subject of their conversation, and innocent rallery; and if *Virgil* had been so bad a Geographer, he might have been better inform'd by his friend, unless we can suppose him in so great a fright, that he knew not where the battle was fought. But had this escaped both *Virgil* and *Horace*, can it be conceived that *Augustus*, the principal person concern'd at *Philippi*, *Mæcenæ*, to whom the *Georgics* are dedicated, and every one of that polite court, should all overlook such a palpable mistake, and suffer it to pass uncorrected? And 'tis still much stranger, that none of the Critics of that age, especially if they had as much sagacity and good-nature as ours, should ever discover the blunder, or upbraid *Virgil* with it; which 'tis certain they never did, otherwise it would have been impossible that so many Poets, who follow'd him, should all blindly fall into the same error.

Having said thus much in justification of *Virgil*, and, I hope, fully acquitted him, I should proceed next to the Historians; but I must beg leave first to premise, that this plain evidence, not to say demonstration, in favour of *Virgil*, has, I doubt not, betray'd many eminent modern writers into a belief that both battles were fought exactly on the same spot, upon an ill-grounded supposition that this was *Virgil's* meaning. Thus ^b *Hofman* in his *Universal Lexicon*, ⁱ *Moreri* and *Collier* in their *Historical Dictionaries*, ^k *Ferrarius* in his *Lexicon Geographicum*, *Baudrand* in his edition of the same with emendations, and ^l *Dr. Wells* in his *Historical Geography of the New Testament*, all agree that *Pompey* was defeated near *Philippi* on the borders of *Thrace*, as well as *Brutus* and *Cassius*; and if there was occasion to make farther enquiry, I doubt not but we should find many more writers of the same sentiment, notwithstanding *Cæsar* himself (whose authority surely cannot

^a Lib. ii. Ode 7.

^b *Philippi*. Colonia & urbs Macedoniæ, condita an instaurata a Philippo Rege, in Thraciæ confinio, apud montis Pangæi radices. olim Crenides. Hic campi Philippii, ubi inter Cæsarem & Pompeium pugnatum est, postea verò inter Augustum & Cassium. *Hofman. Lex. Univ.*

ⁱ *Philippæ*. Ville de Macedoine. — St. Paul convertit les peuples de cette ville. — Et leur écrivit de sa prison la lettre que nous avons entre les Canoniques. — C'est aussi près de cette ville que Pompée fût défait par Cæsar en 706 de Rome, & que Cassius & Brutus furent vaincus par Auguste & Marc Antoine en 712. Comme Tite Live, Plutarque, Velleius, Dion, Appien, Florus, &c.

Pont remarqué *Moreri Dictionaire Hist.* — This almost literally translated by *Collier*.

^k *Philippi*. Apud oram maris Ægæi, ad 10 mill. pass. dist. — ab Amphipoli 33. &c. Hic campi Philippii, ubi inter Cæsarem & Pompeium pugnatum. *Phil. Ferrarii Lex. Geogr.*

^l Speaking of St. Paul going to *Philippi*, he says, — "Near to it lay the fields; thence call'd 'Campi Philippii, famous for two great and memorable battles, the former between *Julius Cæsar* and *Pompey the Great*, the latter between *Augustus* and *Mark Antony*, on the one side, and *Cassius* and *Brutus* on the other." *Hist. Geog. of the New Test. Part. II. Chap. iv. Sect. 2.*

be

be disputed) assures us in his Commentaries that the famous battle, between him and *Pompey*, was fought in *Thessaly* on the plains of *Pharsalia*.—Indeed these authors are so far from pretending to produce any testimonies from antiquity in favour of their assertion, that most of them stand confuted even by themselves, and in the very same page, make *Pharsalus* in *Thessaly*, as well as *Philippi* on the confines of *Thrace*, memorable for the same action.—See ^m *Ferrarius*, ^{*} *Hofman*, and ^o *Moreri*, on the word *Pharsalus*.

Nothing therefore need be said more with regard to them but that they are manifestly guilty of a gross mistake in History and Geography. Others again, and those in greater numbers, seeing the absurdity of the former opinion, tell us, that both battles were fought, not at the aforementioned *Philippi*, on the borders of *Thrace*, but near a more obscure town of the same name in *Thessaly*.

Thus ^r *Servius*, or rather the compiler of the notes that go under his name (if we may reckon him among the Moderns) *Stephanus* in his *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, ^q *Petavius* in his *Rationarium Temporum*, ^{*} *Dr. Heylin* in his *Cosmography*, ^{*} *Torrentius* in his notes on *Horace*, ^{*} *Desprez* in *usum Delpbini*, ^o *Monf. Dacier*, and ^{*} *Father Sandon*, in their several notes on the same author, and ^r *Lord Lauderdale* in his translation of *Virgil*, all agree that *Brutus* and *Cassius* were defeated in *Thessaly*, on the same spot, which had been before fatal to *Pompey the Great*.

^m *Pharsalus*. Urbs Theſſaliæ ad Enipeum fluvium, qui in Peneum decedit, pugna inter Cæſarem & Pompeium memorabilis. *Ferrarius Lex. Geog.*

ⁿ *Pharsalus*. Theſſaliæ oppidum, ad Enipeum fluvium. Hinc Pharſalici Campi pugna inter Cæſarem & Pompeium memorabiles. Hi poſtea Philippiſti dicti ſunt, ſive a Philippo Rege, ſive a Philippiſ urbe vicina. *Hofman*.

^o *Pharſale*. Ville de Theſſalie, celebre par la bataille que Cæſar y remporta ſur Pompée dans les campagnes voiſines. *Moreri*.

^r *Philippi*. Civitas eſt Theſſaliæ, in qua primò Cæſar & Pompeius, poſtea Auguſtus & Brutus cum Caſſio dimicaverunt. *Serv. Not. in Virg. Georg. lib. i.* § 490. This copied verbatim by *Stephanus*.

^q *Philippi*. Sequentè verò anno cum M. Bruto & Conjuratorum Principibus Octavius & Antonius, acie decertarunt in Theſſaliâ, ad urbem Philippas. *Pet. Rat. Temp. part I. lib. iv. c. 20.*

^{*} *Dr. Heylin*, giving an account of the cities of *Thessaly*, and having mention'd *Pharsalus*, nigh to which was fought the great battle betwixt *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, comes next to *Philippi*, which he deſcribes as ſituated on the farther part of the

ſame plains of *Pharsalia*, and famous for as memorable a battle, as that before, and of no leſs conſequence, viz. That between *Auguſtus* and *M. Antonius* on the one ſide, and *Brutus* and *Cassius* on the other. *Cosmog. pag. 243.*

^{*} *Philippi*. Civitas Theſſaliæ, a Philippo inſtaurata, mutato nomine, cum Dathos antea diceretur, geminâ Romanorum clade inſignita, Pompeii primum, deinde Bruti & Caſſii adverſus Cæſarem & Antonium, &c. *Torrent. Not. in Hor. Ep. ii. lib. ii.* § 49.

^r *Philippi*. Ad quam urbem in Theſſalicis campis Auguſtus Brutum proſtigavit. *Not. in Hor. Ep. ii. lib. ii.* § 49. And yet the ſame author in a note on *Philippi*, Ode 7. Book ii. places the ſame *Philippi* in *Macedonia* on the confines of *Thrace*.

^m See *Remarques ſur l'ode 12. lib. ii.*

^{*} Ode 4. lib. i. according to his diſtribution.

^r Then curſ'd *Philippi's* fields ſaw once again
Pile againſt Pile, by *Romans Romans* ſlain:
For to the Pow'r's Immortal it ſeem'd juſt,
That *Roman* blood ſhould twice ſtain the *Pharſalian* duſt.

But

But the most strenuous assertors of this opinion are the two late celebrated writers of the *Roman History*, Fathers *Catrou* and *Rouille*, who tell us, * tom. 18, pag. 159 of their History, that — *Cæsar* came and encamp'd with *Anthony* on the same plain of *Pharsalia*, which had some years before been so fatal to *Pompey the Great*. And * pag. 173, having premis'd — That it was necessary to examine carefully, which of the cities called *Philippi*, gave title to the famous battle of that name, and having reckon'd three, one in the middle of *Thrace*, now call'd *Philippopoli*, the second in *Edonia*, on the confines of *Macedonia* and *Thrace*, the third in *Phthiotis*, a little province of *Thessaly*, they conclude for the last. In short, their main drift, during their whole account of the war of *Augustus* and *M. Anthony* against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, which takes up above eighty pages, seems calculated to prove, that —^b Their famous battle was fought on the plain between *Pharsalia*, and the *Thessalian Philippi*; exactly on the same spot where *Pompey the Great* had been defeated by *Julius Cæsar*. And to shew how firmly they are attach'd to this opinion, they add, that — “ It seem'd as “ if Providence had so order'd it, that the adopted son of *Cæsar* should “ conquer at the same place, where his father had conquer'd before “ him.”

I would not have troubled you with so many quotations, and those so contradictory to one another, but that tho' they lengthen out my letter, they at the same time are a good apology for writing it, as they shew how requisite it is to have a passage better understood, which has given occasion to so many mistakes.

I shall now consider the account given of the battle of *Philippi* by the antient Historians, and endeavour to vindicate them from a more severe charge brought against them, no less than forgery. But this shall be the subject of my next, unless you prevent farther correspondence by declaring you are already fully satisfied with the explanation I formerly hinted to you, and submit to any terms, rather than meet me any more at *Philippi*.

* *Cæsar* malgré son infirmité ne séjourna pas long tems à *Dyrrachium* & vint camper avec *Antoine* dans cette même plaine de *Pharsale*, qui quelques années auparavant avoit été si funeste au Grand *Pompée*.

^a C'est ici qu'il faut examiner avec soin, quelle fût celle des villes nommées *Philippes*, qui donna son nom à la fameuse bataille que nous allons decrire, &c. Pag. 173, &c.

^b *Cæsar* & *Antoine* charmés d'avoir sauvé du danger les huit Legions qu'ils avoient opposées d'abord à *Brutus* & à *Cassius* se rabattirent en-

semble vers la *Thessalie*, & camperent dans la même plaine, entre la troisième *Philippes* & *Pharsale*, précisément au même lieu où le Grand *Pompée* avoit été défait par *Jule Cæsar*. — *Brutus* & *Cassius* ne discontinuerent point de suivre en queue les ennemis, & arriverent enfin dans ces vastes campagnes qui separoient les villes de *Philippes* & de *Pharsale*. Il sembloit que la Providence eût réglé, que le fils adoptif de *Cæsar* vaincroit au même endroit, où son pere avoit vaincu. Pag. 175, 176.

[8]

LETTER II.

APPIAN's Account of the Battle of PHILIPPI.

SINCE I find by your obliging answer to my last letter, that you are willing to meet me again at *Philippi*, I beg leave to bring with me the antient Historians, and *Appian* at the head of them. As this author has been more circumstantial than any other, especially in his plan of the country, the march of both armies, and their different encampments, I shall give you his account at large, as exactly as I can. To which I shall add the testimonies of other Historians in his favour, and then consider the objections brought against them, and leave you to judge whether they or their adversaries deserve most credit.

Appian, in the fourth book of his Civil wars, having related the several conquests made by *Brutus* and *Cassius* in the East, particularly in *Asia Minor* and *Rhodes*, and what forces and sums of money they had collected from thence to prosecute the war against *Cæsar* and *Antony*, tells us (pag. ^a 1018) that *Brutus* ordered his *Lycian* fleet, and his other ships, to sail round to *Abydus*, that he marched thither with his foot, and there waited for *Cassius* to join him from *Ionia*, that they might pass over together to *Sestus*. *Cæsar* and *Antony* on the other side assembled their forces at *Brundisium*, and, notwithstanding all attempts to intercept them, sailed over to *Epidamnus*. ^b “ In the mean time *Ceditius* and *Norbanus*, whom *Cæsar* and *Antony* had dispatched before with eight “ legions into *Macedonia*, marched 1500 furlongs (near 200 miles) towards the mountains of *Thrace*, till having passed beyond the city “ *Philippi*, they made themselves masters of the Straits of the “ *Torpidi* and *Salapæi* in the territories of *Rascupolis*, which was the only “ known or common passage from *Asia* to *Europe*, and therefore the “ first opposition was to be made there to the arms of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who had now passed from *Abydus* to *Sestus*. This *Rascupolis* “ and his brother *Rascus* were of the royal family of *Thrace*, joint sovereigns of the same country, who being at that time divided as to “ the part they were to act in the approaching war, *Rascus* sided with

^a Edit. Toll. Amst. 1670.

^b Ib. pag. 1023.

^c Or *Turpili* and *Sapæi*.

“ *Antony*

" *Cassius*, each bringing a body of 3000 horse. *Brutus* and *Cassius* enquiring what rout they were to take, *Rasculpolis* told them that the road by *Ænus* and *Maronea* was the nearest, the easiest, and most frequented, which led to the Straits of the *Salapæi*, but as those were possessed by the enemy, that pass was impracticable. However he knew another road, but it was three times as far about, and very difficult. Upon this *Brutus* and *Cassius* supposing the enemy came not that way with intent to block up the road and oppose their passage, but that scarcity of provisions had forced them to advance from *Macedonia* towards *Thrace*, therefore they determined to take the common road of *Ænus* and *Maronea*.

" Wherefore, marching first by *Lyfimachia* and *Cardia*, which are, as it were, the two gates to the isthmus of the *Thracian* peninsula, they came the next day to the gulf of *Melas*.—Here the Generals mustered their forces, and *Cassius* made a speech to the army.—^e Then marching for two days by the side of the gulf, they came to *Ænus*, and thence to *Doriscus*, and such other towns as are on the sea coast as far as mount *Serrium*. Now this promontory running out far into the sea, and their road leading them higher up into the country, they ordered *Tullius Cimber* with the fleet, and one legion well armed, with some archers, to sail round the cape and along the coast."

Here *Appian* describes this coast as desert, and relates at large how it came to be so, and then proceeds thus:—

"^f —*Cimber* having sailed beyond this desert coast, was preparing according to his instructions, to mark out proper places for encamping, and stations for their shipping, to the end that *Norbanus* and *Ceditius* might abandon their Straits, judging it to no purpose to maintain them any longer. This partly succeeded as was expected, for upon appearance of the fleet upon the coast, *Norbanus* was in great consternation for the Straits of the *Sapæi*, and called *Ceditius* from the *Turpili* to come with all expedition to his succour. Who

^d Τὸς δὲ πολεμικοὺς ὑπολαβόντες ὅτι εἰς πύλωνα ἰδόντες μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπαντῶν, τρεφὼν δ' ἀπορία εἰς Θρακίαν ἀντὶ Μακεδονίας ὑπερέβαιναι, ἐβιάζον ὅτι ἐντὶ Ἄενου καὶ Μαρωνείας. Ὅθεν ἐπὶ Λυσιμαχίας τε, καὶ Καρδίας (καὶ τὴν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Θρακίας χειρὸς ἡσίου ἀγαλαμναῖον αὐτοῦ πύλωνα) καὶ ἄλλαν ἡμέραν εἰς τὴν Μίλανα πύλωνα ἀφίκοντο. Pag. 1024.

In all the editions I have hitherto seen of this author, there is a full stop after *ὑπερέβαιναι*, and none after *Μαρωνείας*, by which it seems as if *Brutus* and *Cassius* went first to *Ænus* and *Maronea*, and from thence to *Lyfimachia* and *Cardia*: And accordingly *Tollius* has thus translated it: *Verfus Ænum &*

Maroneam moverunt, atque inde petierunt Lyfimachiam & Cardiam. But as this is evidently contrary to Geography, there must be a mistake, which may easily be rectified, by only pointing it as I have done: And then the sense will be, that, after consultation which road to take, they resolved upon that of *Ænus* and *Maronea*. And so the march of the army begins at *Odus* ἐντὶ. This makes the passage clear, and agreeable to Geography.

^e Pag. 1037, &c.

^f Pag. 1038.

“ came accordingly. And thus the Straits of the *Turpili* being abandoned, the army of *Brutus* passed them. But their stratagem being now discovered, *Norbanus* and *Ceditius* strongly fortified the Straits of the *Sapæi*, and secured them against *Brutus*. Upon this his army began to be disheartened, fearing lest they must now at last undertake the round-about way they had before declined, and be obliged to travel back again the same way they came, notwithstanding it was late in the year. Whilst they were in this distress, *Rascupolis* told them that by a circuit of three days they might get beyond this mountain of the *Sapæi*, tho’ indeed the way had been hitherto unpassable, by reason of precipices, want of water, and thick cover. But if they would carry water with them, and open a narrow road sufficient for the army to march, the close contexture of the woods would prevent their being discovered even by the birds of the air. That on the fourth day they might reach the river *Harpeffus*, which falls into the ^c *Hebrus*. ^b From whence, in one day more they might arrive at *Philippi*, enclose the enemy, and so entirely cut off their retreat, that it would be impossible for them to escape. This advice was agreeable to them in their present circumstances, especially as it gave them hopes of encompassing so great an army of the enemy. Therefore a detachment was sent before, under the conduct of *L. Bibulus* and *Rascupolis*, with instructions to open a defile. They laboured with great fatigue, but briskly, and with cheerfulness, especially after some spies, whom they had dispatched before, returned with news, that from an eminence they had discovered the river. But on the fourth day being tired with toil and thirst (the water which they brought with them beginning to fail) they

^c The original has *Ἑβρὸν*, but as we can find no river of that name in the country, the translators have rendered it by *Hebrus*.

^b I must own that, according to the common maps of this country, it wou’d be impossible that from the river *Harpeffus*, which falls into the *Hebrus*, an army could in one day reach *Philippi*. And indeed considering what a mountainous country this is, and that another river, viz. *Nessus*, must lie between the *Harpeffus* and *Philippi*, this passage seemed to me at first sight very improbable. And therefore I was inclined to think that *Appian* was mistaken herein. But upon examining *P. Lucas’s* account of this country, I find, that, upon a journey from *Philippopolis* to *Macedonia*, he happened (luckily for our purpose) to travel this cross road, and agrees very exactly with *Appian* in this particular. He tells us, that upon that journey he came on the

11th of June 1706, to the river *Hardeme* (certainly the old *Harpeffus*) which he says falls into the *Mariza*, formerly *Hebrus* near *Adrianople*. That he travelled five hours on the banks of it, and lodged that night near its source. The next day having travelled for four hours over steep and difficult mountains, he came to the river *Carosou*, formerly *Nessus*, passed it by boat, and arrived the same day, viz. June 12, at *Drame*, in the plains of *Philippi*. — As to the situation of *Drame*, he says, that ’tis five hours distant from the ruins of *Philippi*, and places it in his map, westward of those ruins, and farther from the source of the *Hardeme* than *Philippi* itself. And yet he made but one day’s journey from the *Hardeme* thither. See *P. Lucas’s second voyage to the Levant*, tom. 1st from cap. 25 to 28 inclusive.

“ clamoured

“ clamoured that they had been forewarned to provide against drought
 “ for three days only, and began to be under terror for want of water,
 “ not disbelieving the reports of those who had seen the river, but on
 “ a suspicion that their guides were leading them a different way.
 “ They were now desponding and mutinous, and whenever they saw
 “ *Rascupolis* running about and encouraging them, they reviled and
 “ pelted him. But as *Bibulus* was exhorting them by fair words to
 “ persevere with patience, they who were in the front espied the river
 “ towards the evening, and making loud acclamations with great joy,
 “ as usual on such occasions, their huzzas were communicated from
 “ one another quite to the rear. Which when *Brutus* and *Cassius*
 “ heard, they forthwith marched the rest of the army through this
 “ avenue that was cut for them. However, they were disappointed
 “ in their design of deceiving or intercepting the enemy. For *Rascus*
 “ the brother of *Rascupolis*, suspecting the occasion of these huzzas sent
 “ out spies, and having discovered what was done, was astonished that
 “ so great an army had marched where there was no water, and where he
 “ thought no wild beast could pass, by reason of the thick woods.
 “ Of this he gave intelligence to *Norbanus*’s army, who fled in the night
 “ from the Straits of the *Sapæi* to *Amphipolis*. And the *Thracian*
 “ Princes were celebrated in both armies, one for conducting an
 “ army so blind a way, the other for discovering it. By this extraor-
 “ dinary attempt, the army of *Brutus* arrived at *Philippi*, and *Tullius*
 “ *Cimber* came also on the same coast, and so the whole army was
 “ assembled.

“ *Philippi* is a city formerly called *Datus*, and in earlier times
 “ *Crenides*, because there are many fountains of running water round
 “ the hill. King *Philip* fortified this place as lying commodious
 “ against the incursions of the *Thracians*, and called it *Philippi* after
 “ his own name. The city is built on an eminence, guarded by preci-
 “ pices all round, and takes up the whole extent of the top of the hill.
 “ To the north it has the thick woods thro’ which *Rascupolis* conducted
 “ *Brutus*’s army: To the south is a marsh, and beyond that the sea:
 “ Towards the east are the straits of the *Sapæi* and *Turpili*, and on the
 “ west a plain as far as *Murcinus*, and *Drabiscus*, and the river *Stry-*
 “ *mon*,ⁱ 350 furlongs, a very fruitful and beautiful country, where some
 “ place the rape of *Proserpine*, as she was gathering flowers. Here
 “ likewise is the river^k *Zygætes*, where ’tis pretended *Pluto*’s chariot
 “ broke down as he was passing it; from whence the river took its

ⁱ This probably is a mistake. The Geogra- about 31 miles.
 phers reckoning no more than 250 furlongs, or^k A fracto jugo.

“ name. This country lies on a declivity, descending from *Philippi*
 “ and ascending from *Amphipolis*. Not far from *Philippi* is another
 “ hill named *Bacchus's-Mount*, in which are gold mines, which they
 “ call *Asyla*. And when one has gone about ten furlongs farther from
 “ *Philippi*, there are two other hills both within eighteen furlongs of
 “ *Philippi* itself, and eight from each other. On these hills *Cassius*
 “ and *Brutus* encamped, the former on that to the south, the latter
 “ on the other to the north; and desisted from pursuing *Norbanus's*
 “ army; being informed that *Antony* was approaching, *Cæsar* being
 “ left at *Epidamnus* sick. As this plain before them was proper for
 “ an engagement, so were these craggy hills for encampments, being
 “ well guarded on either side. For on one side were marshes and
 “ lakes as far as the river *Strymon*, on the other, all approaches were
 “ narrow, unfrequented, and impracticable. In the middle between
 “ these two hills, which were eight furlongs distant, lay the common
 “ road, as it were thro' a gate, from *Asia* to *Europe*. Here they
 “ built a wall across from hill to hill, leaving gates in the middle,
 “ so that both camps were hereby united. Near them ran a little brook
 “ or torrent which some call *Ganga*, others *Gangites*, and behind
 “ them was the sea, which supplied them with all necessaries, and
 “ was a good station for their shipping. For they had their magazines at
 “ the isle of *Thasus*, which was an hundred furlongs distant, and the har-
 “ bour for their shipping at *Neapolis* seventy furlongs. The two Ge-
 “ nerals, being pleased with this situation, fortified their camps. In
 “ the mean time *Antony* marched with his army, with all expedition,
 “ intending to make himself master of *Amphipolis*, which might be of
 “ service to him in the war. And finding, to his great joy, that *Nor-*
 “ *banus* had already secured it for him, he left all his provisions there,
 “ with one legion under the command of *Pinarius*, and himself very
 “ bravely advanced and encamped on the plain, within eight furlongs
 “ of the enemy. The advantage and disadvantage between the two
 “ camps immediately appeared very manifestly. They were on
 “ hills, these in the plain; they had their fuel from mountains, these
 “ from the marshes; they water'd from the brook, these from
 “ the wells which they were forced to sink on the spot; they
 “ fetched all their provisions a few furlongs distance from *Thasus*,
 “ these ¹ 350 furlongs from *Amphipolis*. *Antony* indeed seemed ob-
 “ liged to act as he did out of pure necessity, because there was no
 “ other hill, and the rest of the plain being lower than what he pos-
 “ sessed, was sometimes overflowed by the torrent, from which and

¹ See Note Pag. 11.

“ the wells they had digged, they found plenty of fresh water. But
 “ this boldness of *Antony*, notwithstanding it proceeded from necessity,
 “ alarmed the enemy, when they found that immediately from his
 “ march he encamped so near them as it were in contempt. There-
 “ fore they raised many redoubts, and fortified all places with ditches,
 “ walls and ramparts; the enemy likewise fortifying all that was neces-
 “ sary. *Cassius*, observing this furious violence of *Antony*, walled up
 “ all the space between his camp and the marsh, which, as being very
 “ narrow, had been before neglected; so that nothing now should re-
 “ main unwallled. Besides, *Brutus* was flanked by precipices, *Cassius*
 “ by the marsh and sea, and all between was secured by ditch, rampart,
 “ wall, and gates.”

Both armies being thus situated, and *Cæsar* arrived in his camp, *Appian* proceeds to relate both actions; ^o the former, which ended with the death of *Cassius* by the hand of his armour-bearer *Pindarus*, and the second, which followed about twenty days after the other, in which *Brutus* lost the day, and fell by the hand of his friend *Strato*. In both these battles, as well as the stratagems used on both sides previous to each action, there are several circumstances which suit exactly with the situation of the camps near *Philippi*, as before described, but can by no means agree with the field of *Pharsalia*. For instance, *Antony*'s stratagem to draw a line across the marsh which lay between *Cassius* and the sea, in order to cut off all communication between their army and the isle of *Thasus*; and *Cassius*'s counterwork to frustrate the design and render it useless: Again, between the first and second battle, after the death of *Cassius*, *Cæsar*'s disposition of his camp in such a manner, that by dividing his army into several separate bodies about half a mile distant from each other, they might extend themselves quite to the shore, and so cut off the communication between *Brutus*'s army and the sea. — Thus far *Appian*. — Let us next enquire, what the other *Historians* say, to corroborate his account: Of which in my next.

^a P. 1046.

^a P. 1064.

^a P. 1044.

^a P. 1056.

LETTER III.

*Testimonies of other Historians in favour of
APPIAN's Account. And CATROU's and
ROUILLE's Objections.*

AS we have lost all that part of *Livy* which related to *Augustus*, and have no full and complete history remaining of those times, but only compendious tracts, written by the *Romans* themselves, we can hope but for little assistance thence, whence we ought chiefly to have expected it.

Velleius Paterculus, who lived nearest to the time we are speaking of, only mentions the name ^a *Philippi*, without giving any description of the place, as supposing it sufficiently known and agreed on: Yet I think the bare naming it in the manner he does, *Urbem Philippas*, is a plain Indication that he meant the famous city near *Thrace*; for had he intended the other *Philippi* in *Thessaly* (which was a more obscure town, and usually known in history by its former name *Thebes*) he would certainly have told us so, and given us some mark whereby to have distinguished it.

Suetonius in his Life of *Augustus*, speaks likewise of *Bellum Philippense*, without farther enlarging upon it, or giving any description of the place where the battle was fought: But there is a subsequent passage in that author too, which accidentally ascertains it to *Philippi* on the borders of *Thrace*: For speaking, in the Life of *Tiberius*, of omens which foretold the future grandeur of that Prince, he says, ^b *that upon his first expedition thro' Macedonia into Syria, it came to pass at Philippi, that the altars formerly consecrated by the victorious legions flamed out, of themselves.* Now it is certain that the road thro' *Macedonia* into *Asia* was by the city *Philippi* on the borders of *Thrace*, not thro' *Thessaly* ^c. — But supposing we had no direct proof in favour of one *Philippi*

^a Tum Cæsar & Antonius trajecerunt exercitus in Macedoniam, & apud urbem Philippas cum M. Bruto Cassioque acie concurrerunt. *Lib. II. cap. 70.*

^b Ingrosso primam expeditionem ac per Mace-

doniam ducente exercitum in Syriam, accidit, ut apud Philippos, sacratæ olim victricium legionum aræ, sponte subitis collucerent ignibus. *Suet. Vit. Tiber.*

^c See *Via Egnatia* in the Map of *Macedonia*.

more than the other, yet it is a strong presumption against the *Theffalian*, that not one of the Historians, *Greek* or *Roman* (except *L. Florus*, whom I shall consider and explain hereafter) gives the least hint that both battles were fought at the same place. 'Tis scarce possible that such a circumstance could have escaped them all. The *Greek* Historians give us the harangues of the several Generals before the action; and methinks the field itself must naturally have led them to dwell on such a remarkable topic; or, supposing *Brutus* and *Cassius* had purposely avoided the name *Pharsalia* as ominous, for the same reason it must have been insisted on by *Octavius* and *Antony*, who would have gloried in going to revenge the death of *Julius* on the same spot where he himself had conquer'd, and had spared the life of *Brutus*. Their silence alone is a sufficient argument against the truth of it.

It may farther be observed on this head, that *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Antony*, speaking of several smart embassies which passed between *Octavius* and *Antony* a little before the battle of *Actium*, tells us, that in one of them, ^a " *Antony* returning an haughty answer to *Octavius*, " challenged him (notwithstanding their disparity of age) to a single " combat, or, if that should be refused, that he would come to a " general decisive battle on the plain of *Pharsalia*, where *J. Caesar* " and *Pompey* had engaged before." Now had this been the same place where he himself had fought for *Octavius*, and had been the chief means of gaining the victory, and securing to him a share in the empire, it cannot be conceived that he would, in such an insulting letter, have omitted so material a circumstance.

But you will say all this amounts to no more than a negative evidence. I shall now therefore produce some positive testimonies from the other *Greek* Historians, and hope to shew, that they tally exactly with *Appian*, and do not in any one thing, as I apprehend, contradict his *Topography*.

Plutarch in his *Life of M. Brutus*, tells us, " That when *Brutus* " and *Cassius* had passed out of *Asia* into *Europe*, they marched on as

^a Τέτοιοι ἀντιμαχάμενοι Ἀντώνῳ αὐτὸν μὲν εἰς μάχης περικαλῆτο καίπερ ὡς πρεσβύτερος, εἰ δὲ φεύγει τὸ πλεονέκτημα οὐκ ἔστιν τοῖς νεωτέροις, ὡς πάλαι Καῖσαρ καὶ Πομπήῳ, Ἀργυνεύου. *Plut. Vit. Ant.*

The *Fathers Catrou* and *Rouille*, in their *Roman History*, tom. 18, p. 668. represent this passage in a quite different light; and make *Antony* speak of the field of *Pharsalia*, as twice before stain'd with *Roman* blood. *Antony's* words according to their translation are as follow: " Je " ne refuse pas même de livrer bataille dans les " plaines de *Pharsale*, déjà deux fois teintes du

" sang Romain." They do not indeed quote their authority, but the whole challenge is printed by them in *Italicks*, as the real words of *Antony*. I leave you to judge whether this is agreeable to truth; or whether the passage is not misrepresented, in order to give a colour to a favourite scheme; as they say *Appian* has done.

^b Μίχεται τῆς αὐτοῦ θαλάσσης περιήλθον, ἐκὼ δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν Ναρβανὸν ἐν τοῖς τῶν αἰγυπτίων, καὶ περὶ τὸ Σόμβολον στρατοπεδεύοντες, ἀντιμαχόμενοι αὐτῷ ἀνέγκασαν ἀποστῆναι, καὶ περὶ τὸ χωρίον, μικρὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν λαβὼν ἰδίῃσαν. *Plut. Vit. Brut.*

“ far as the sea-coast over-against *Thasus*; there the troops under *Norbanus* being encamped in a place called the Straits, and near to *Symbolon*, they surrounded them, forced them to decamp, and quit the place, and *Norbanus* very narrowly escaped losing his whole army.”

Dion Cassius agrees still more expressly with *Appian*, “ That when *Brutus* and *Cassius* had settled their affairs in *Asia*, they hastened to *Macedonia*. That *Norbanus* and *Ceditius Saxa* prevented them, having passed the *Ionian Sea* before *Statius* could come to intercept them, and having possessed themselves of all the country as far as *Pangæus*, encamped in the neighbourhood of *Philippi*.” Then he gives a short but very plain description of the situation of *Philippi*. “ The city [*Philippi*] says he, lies near to *Pangæus* and *Symbolon*. *Symbolon* is so called, because there that mountain joins itself to another that extends itself into the Midland, and lies between *Neapolis* and *Philippi*. The former of which places is on the sea shore over-against *Thasus*, the latter on a plain amidst the mountains.” Then he proceeds to tell us, “ That *Saxa* and *Norbanus* having possessed themselves of the shortest way over the mountains, *Brutus* and *Cassius* would not attempt to pass that road, but fetched a compass round about another way towards *Crenides*.” And here we must observe, there can be no dispute, which *Philippi* is here meant, because we find it specified by its ancient name *Crenides*.

Let us next endeavour to fix, as near as we can, where these Straits were, which *Saxa* and *Norbanus* made themselves masters of; and which *Appian* calls the Straits of the *Sapæi*; *Plutarch*, simply, the Straits, which he places near to *Symbolon*; and *Dion Cassius*, the shortest way over the mountain. In making this enquiry, I find that the same pass (at least one part of it) was called in the Itinerary, *Acontisma*. And as it was a Roman station, we may thereby learn its distance from *Philippi*, being computed by some ^b at twenty one miles, by others at

^f Ταῦτ' ἐν ἀμφότεροις περὶ ξανίης ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης· καὶ αὐτὰς, Γαίης, τὴν Νερβανὸς, καὶ Δικηδῶν Σίξας, ἔχουσιν, οἳ τὴν ἰστίαν περὶ τὸν Στάτον ἰσθμὸν παρεμβάνουσιν, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν μέγαν τὴν Παγλαίαν γῆν παρεκλίσσονται, καὶ περὶ τοὺς Φιλίππους περὶ τὸν ἀσπίδα ἀσπίδα. Τὸ δὲ δὴ Ἄστὺ τὸ τοῦτο περὶ τὴν Παγλαίαν καὶ περὶ τὴν Συμβόλον καὶ τὴν Συμβόλον ὅτι τὸ χωρίον ἀνομάζουσιν, καὶ ὃ τὸ ὕψος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ τῇ ἐς μεσότητος ἀντιπαραστή συμβάλλει. Καὶ ἴσιν μεταξὺ Νεαπόλεως καὶ τῆς Φιλίππων. Ἡ δὲ γὰρ περὶ τὴν Θαλάσσαν κατ' ἀντιπαραστή θάλασσαν ἢ ὃ δὲ ἐν τῇ τῇ ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης περὶ τὴν. — Καὶ (ἵπτοι) ὅτι τὸν συνισματοῦν αὐτὸν ὑπερβολὴν ὃ, τὴν Σίξας καὶ ὃ Νερβανὸς παρεκκλίσσονται ταῦτα μὲν

ὃ Βεῦτος ὃ, τὴν Κάσσιος ὃ δὲ ἐκείνου ἀλγῶναι, ἐν τῇ δὲ τῇ μακροτέρῃ καὶ τὰς Κρηίδας ἀνομάζουσιν παρεμβάνουσιν. *Dion. Cass. Hist. Rom. lib. 47.*

^g *Acontisma* was probably so named from ἀκοντισμός, *jaculator*, on account of the frequent skirmishes which happened there, in disputing the pass: or else from the resemblance of its craggy mountain to a back-bone, which in the Macedonian Language, as *Hesychius* informs us, was called Ἀκόνιστος.

^h Compare *Antoninus's Itinerary* with the *Itin. Hierosol.*

nineteen; viz. nine from *Acontisma* to *Neapolis*, and ten or twelve from thence to *Philippi*.

We may farther discover from *Ammianus Marcellinus*, in an account he gives of *Thrace*,ⁱ that the steep narrow Straits, called *Acontisma*, were situated near the eastern limits of *Macedonia*; and therefore could not be far from the river *Nessus*, which was usually reckon'd the boundary betwixt that country and *Thrace*. The same author tells us in another place,^k That these Straits were fortified by one of the *Roman* Generals as a principal pass to the *Northern* nations. And in the same state we are assured they remain to this day; nature has stamped some marks upon them which are unalterable; and the additional fortifications have so far escaped the fury of those northern swarms who so frequently passed them, that *Paul Lucas*, who travelled this road in the year 1714, speaking of ^l *La Cavalla* (which is the old *Neapolis*, or near it) tells us, "That among the neighbouring mountains there are still to be seen very thick and long walls, and many fortifications which were undoubtedly made for the defence of that city. One would be surpris'd, says he, to see such remains of walls reaching up to the tops of the highest mountains, without any tradition concerning them from the people of the country. But one may easily discern that they were intended to block up the pass by different entrenchments.—Remains of towers and walls are still to be seen, which shut up this defile, the road thro' which is very narrow."

I am not aware of any objection can be made to the situation of the Straits as above described, unless it is, that *Appian* seems to reckon the Straits of the ^m *Sapæi* in *Thrace*, by making them part of the domi-

nions

ⁱ Ex angulo orientali Macedonicis jungitur collimitis per arctas præcipientesque vias quæ cognominantur Acontisma. *Amm. Marcel. lib. xxvii. c. 4.*

^k Obstruxit tres aditus angustissimos, per quos provincie tentantur arctoæ: Unum per Ripensem Daciam, alterum per Suecos notissimum, tertium per Macedones, quem appellant Acontisma. *Lib. xxvii. c. 7.*

^l Ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable, c'est qu'on voit encore aujourd'hui dans les montagnes, qui sont voisines (à la Cavalle) de grosses & longues murailles, & plusieurs fortifications, qui avoient sans doute été faites pour la défense de la ville. On est surpris de voir ces restes de murs s'étendre jusqu' au sommet de plus hautes montagnes, sans

que la tradition du pays puisse rien apprendre de particulier sur ce sujet. Mais il est aisé de juger qu'on avoit songé à fermer ce passage par des différens retranchemens, qu'il n'étoit pas aisé de forcer.—On voit encore dans la campagne des restes de tours & de murailles qui fermoient ce défilé, dont les chemins sont très étroits. *Paul Lucas's 3d voyage, tom. 1. p. 36.*

^m The maps, which mention the *Sapæi*, generally place them more Eastward than I have done, and near to the river *Hebrus*. But I know not by what authority: All the ancient Historians and Geographers, who speak of them, having unanimously agreed in fixing them near the city *Abdera* on the river *Nessus* or *Nessus*.—

" a fleet on the coast, and thereupon summoned *Ceditius* from the "*Turpili*, to his assistance; we may observe that he requires him to " be expeditious" (κατὰ πρῶτον ἀποκρίναι) which supposes them at least not near enough to join immediately in case of any sudden attack. We may farther gather from *Appian* at what distance *Brutus* and *Cassius* were from *Philippi* when they were obliged to turn out of the road; for he tells us that after they had passed the Straits of the *Turpili*, and were advancing towards those of the *Sapai*, and found them secured, *Rasculpolis* proposed to them a new road, which was computed by him at five days march from *Philippi*, and only three out of the way (ἡμερῶν τριῶν) therefore the direct road must be two; this agrees very well with the account *Paul Lucas* gives of another defile on the *Thracian* side of the river *Carasou* or *Nessus*, nine hours distant from it, which he describes as fortified in the same manner with that of the *Sapai*, or *La Cavalla*; and which (except that of *La Cavalla*) is the only narrow pass remarked by him on all that road.

But whether these Straits of the *Turpili*, were on the east or west side of the river *Nessus*, is not material; they were manifestly in the neighbourhood, which is all that is requisite to our present purpose: I would only observe, in order to settle this geographical point, that in case they were on the *Macedonian* side of the river *Nessus*, and near adjoining to the other Straits, then the circuit taken by *Brutus* and *Cassius* was only round that single mountain. But if these Straits were on the *Thracian* side of the river, I think they cannot otherwise be placed than as I have placed them in the plan annexed.

From this excursion to the Straits let us return to *Philippi*, and view the several encampments. And here we shall find our other Historians concurring with *Appian* in the bad situation of *Cæsar* and *Antony*, in a low ground encompassed with marshes; and the advantageous posts of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and in several other circumstances which agree perfectly with *Philippi* near *Thrace*, not with *Pharsalia*; as the nearness and free access to the sea and isle of *Thasus*, from whence *Brutus* and *Cassius* were supplied with provisions; and *Antony's* attempt to cut off that communication by making a trench across the marsh which lay between their camp and the sea^f.

^f P. 1039.

¶ Nous passâmes la rivière Noire ou Carasou à gué; & après avoir marché six heures dans une plaine qu'arrose la rivière que je viens de nommer, nous couchâmes dans le village d'Inigé. — Le 15 après trois heures de chemin nous trouvâmes encore sur le bord de la mer un lac, où l'on pêche des Truites & des Anguilles, & un château, d'où l'on a tiré une muraille de 22 pieds d'épaisseur, qui s'étend jusques sur la montagne

voisine à plus de 1500 pas de là, & sur laquelle on remarque encore les restes d'un autre château qu'on nomme Bourron Caltet. Ouvrages sans doute des derniers Empereurs Romains, qui avoient fortifié ces défilés pour se mettre à couvert de l'invasion de Turcs. See *Paul Lucas's* 3d Voyage, tom. 1. p. 61.

^f See *Dion Cassius*, Book 47. and *Plutarch's* Life of *Brutus*.

But it is needless to produce instances of the harmony of these three Historians in this respect. The Fathers *Catrou* and *Rouille* give up that point; they acknowledge : " that *Appian's* account is full of incidents and descriptions which can have no relation to a field of battle " on the plains of *Pbarsalia*, and that *Plutarch* and *Dion Cassius* agree " with him in fixing it on the confines of *Thrace* and *Macedonia*." Yet, notwithstanding these concessions, they entirely reject their account as fabulous, because they cannot reconcile them to the Poets; and tell us, " That setting one authority against the other, the testimony of " *Virgil*, *Manilius*, *Ovid*, and *Lucan*, almost all cotemporaries with " *Augustus*, ought to prevail against three Historians who were strangers, and who wrote above a century after the time we are speaking " of." In another place they attack *Appian* in particular, and condemn the moderns, who, out of too much credulity or affection, have taken him for their guide; in short, they declare, " they have chosen " rather to follow the truth, tho' abandon'd, than fall into the same " error with the rest of the world."

Who would not infer from such a declaration, that these reverend fathers could produce sufficient proofs to make good their charge, and invalidate the testimony of the antient Historians? But, as far as I can find, all they pretend to alledge against them, is, that *They were foreigners, and lived above a century after the time we are speaking of.*

I shall consider their arguments, and endeavour to give a full answer to them in my next.

* Il ne faut pas dissimuler, que la narration de cet Ecrivain (*Appien*) est chargée d'incidents & de descriptions, qui ne peuvent avoir lieu, si l'on place le champ de bataille dans les plaines de Thessalie. Nous ne disavouons pas même, que comme lui *Plutarche* & *Dion Cassius* ont fixé la scene dans cette vaste campagne, qui confine avec la Macedoine & la Thrace. *Histoire*, tom. 18, p. 200.

" Est il bien vrai que la bataille, qui decida du sort de *Cassius* & de *Brutus*, ne se donna point à la vûe de *Philippe*, vers l'extrémité Orientale de Macedoine, mais dans les plaines d'une autre ville du même nom située en Thessalie, à peu de distance de *Pharsale*? C'est un fait, dit on, qui ne paroît pas pouvoir se concilier avec le recit de

Plutarche, d'*Appien*, & de *Dion Cassius*; mais, autorité pour autorité, le temoignage de *Virgile*, d'*Ovide*, de *Manilius*, & de *Lucain*, presque tous contemporains d'*Auguste* doit prevaloir à celui de trois Historiens étrangers, & posterieurs de plus d'un siècle aux tems que nous parcourons. P. 187.

* Leur autorité & leur nombre nous ont paru former un préjugé legitime contre le recit d'*Appien*, que quelques modernes, ou trop crédules, ou trop prévenus en sa faveur ont cru devoir prendre pour leur guide. *Rom. Hist.* tom. 18. p. 199.

† Nous avons mieux aimé suivre la verité abandonnée, qu'errer avec la multitude. P. 188.

LETTER IV.

Answers to the foregoing Objections.

WHO would believe that two learned fathers of *France*, writing the *Roman History* in the eighteenth century, should agree to lay aside the most celebrated *Greek Writers* of the same History, in one of the principal parts of their work, for no other reason, than *Because they were foreigners, and lived above one century after the time they wrote of?* This, I must own, comes from them with so bad a grace, that it would scarce be worth while to answer them in a serious manner, were it not more out of regard to their character, than their arguments. But such powerful adversaries, let their weapons be never so weak, may do mischief by their bare authority; and 'tis certain their name has so far prevailed, as to gain them already many followers.

Let us therefore consider if there be any force in either of their objections; and I think every one is the more concerned to do justice to the *Greek Historians*, because we depend upon them to supply the loss of the *Latin*, and, if their credit sinks, what will become of one of the principal branches of the *Roman History*, the age of *Augustus*?

The first objection against them is,—*That they were foreigners.* But how so? 'tis true they were not natives of *Italy*, no more was *Lucan*, nor perhaps *Manilius*. But they were all born subjects of *Rome*, as well as the Poets; and though they chose to write in a foreign language (if *Greek* might be call'd so) yet ^a by their own account, they could not be unacquainted with the *Latin Tongue*. They spent the greatest part of their lives in the city of *Rome*, or its neighbourhood, and were advanced to the ^b highest dignities in the state, which is more

^a *Plutarch* in the beginning of his Life of *Demosthenes*, tells us, that he learnt *Latin* late, and modestly owns, that he was not so great a critic in it, as to pretend to judge between *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, which of them was the greatest master of his own tongue; but 'tis plain by this account that he was no stranger to the language. *Dion Cassius* was a Pleader in the Courts of Justice at *Rome*. See his *History*, lib. xxxvii. p. 835. And *Appian*, who is principally concerned, was

not only a Pleader in their Courts of Justice, but had afterwards the honour of presiding there, as he himself tells us at the latter end of the preface to his works.—Δίκαις ἐν Πάμῃ συναλοῦσθαι ἐνὶ τοῖς βασιλείω, μίχα μὲ σφὺν ἐντεταμένον ἡγεῖσθαι.

^b *Plutarch* was Consul under *Trajan*.—See *Suidas*.—And *Dion Cassius* was a Senator for about forty years, and twice Consul. See *Ger. Voss. de Hist. Græc.* lib. ii. c. 15. and *Fabric. Biblioth.*

than

than can be said of the Poets; such honours seldom falling to their lot.

Therefore if there were any publick records to be consulted, they could not want opportunities of having recourse to them, nor any other advantages requisite to their purpose. Again, as to the place of action, if that is material, they must at least be as well acquainted with the ground, where the battle was fought, as the Poets were, for I know no reason to believe, from what they have said, that any one of them was ever upon the spot; whereas 'tis probable that the three *Greek* Historians were all there. This may be conjectured of *Appian*, from the curious plan he has given us of the country; of *Dion Cassius*, as it lay directly in his road, between his own country, *Bithynia*, and *Rome*; and for *Plutarch*, still more may be said; he was by birth, of the city *Charonea* in *Bæotia*, the adjoining province to *Thessaly*, and, as we are told in his life, was employed in public embassies from his own country to other states of *Greece*, and travelled all over those parts, — “to peruse the archives of every city, that he might be better enabled to write the lives of his *Grecian* Worthies, and describe the laws, customs, rites, and ceremonies of every place;” — and therefore, 'tis more than probable, that he had been both at *Philippi* and *Pharsalia*, especially the latter, as it lay but few miles from him; and if both battles had been fought there, it cannot be conceived that a man of so great learning and curiosity, could possibly have been so grossly ignorant as to fix the latter battle at *Philippi*, on the farther side of *Macedonia*.

The other objection against these *Greek* Historians, is, — *That they wrote above a century after the battle of Philippi.* This argument may have some weight with regard to particular circumstances or springs of action, wherewith those who write in after-ages cannot be supposed to be so well acquainted as those who lived at or near the time. But in the present enquiry, whether a remarkable battle was fought in this place or that, I cannot think that a century or two can make any great difference, unless in times of the grossest ignorance. For if age alone, without other infirmities, may be allow'd not only to impair the sight of Historians, but so entirely to blind them, as not to discern the most memorable occurrences, it follows that history must be very short-sighted; and we must lie under this sad necessity of believing none, or those only who write the history of their own times. — The only questions, I think, ought to be, Whether these Historians, notwithstanding that distance of time, were furnished with proper materials for compiling their history; and particularly, Whether they had opportunities of being rightly inform'd of the fact before us: Or whether

ther they erred from inadvertency: Or lastly, Whether they did not wilfully endeavour to deceive. — The first thing to be considered, is, Whether they were furnished with proper materials. And this, I think, cannot be disputed, for notwithstanding they all liv'd after the reign of *Augustus*, yet undoubtedly that Prince, who was so great an encourager of learning, and enjoy'd many years of peace to accomplish his designs, could not be so far wanting to himself, as, when he had built his Palatine Library, to neglect furnishing it with some memorials of his own reign, especially so remarkable a part of it, as the battle which established him in the empire. Nay, we are assured, that after the example of his predecessor, he wrote commentaries of his own life; (tho' since lost) and we are farther sure, that these Historians had the perusal of them. *Plutarch* mentions them frequently, and *Appian* quotes a passage from them, relating to *Augustus's* retiring from his tent in this very battle we are now speaking of.

'Tis manifest therefore, that they neither wanted materials, nor neglected to make use of them. But you will say, the best Historians, notwithstanding all these advantages; are liable to mistakes. I own, few authors, especially voluminous ones, are free from them, nor should I think it any reproach to these reverend fathers, if, in so extensive a work as theirs is, they should themselves, now and then, afford us instances of this human frailty: But supposing they had undertaken to write the History of the late civil wars of their own country, or even those of *England*, provided they had lived amongst us, and had been assisted with all the advantages abovementioned, they would think great injury done them to imagine that they could possibly, thro' distance of time, be so grossly mistaken, as to represent the principal action of either of those wars, in a wrong country, two hundred miles distant from the place where it was really fought. Why then should they lay this to the charge of three *Greek* Historians? They have indeed the complaisance to make the following excuse for them, — “That resemblance of names might give occasion to the mistake.” — And being willing to grant every thing that can be desired, I will acknowledge, in return for their civility, that had the *Greek* Historians only named one *Philippi* instead of the other, without enlarging any farther, this might have passed for a geographical error, tho' it is pretty extraor-

* Multa varii generis prosa oratione composuit, & aliqua de vita sua, quam tredecim libris, Cantabrico tenuis bello, nec ultra, exposuit. *Suet. Othav. Cas. § 85.*

† Καίσαρος αὐτὸν δι' ἑνὸς τοῦτον ἐν τῇ ἐν τῇ φυλαξαρδία τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνή-

μασιν ἔγραψεν. *Appian de Bell. Civ. lib. iv. p. 1045. Ed. Toll.*

* La ressemblance des noms a pu donné lieu à la méprise. *Catr. & Rou. Hist. Rom. tom. 18. note on p. 187.*

dinary it should have escaped so many. But the case here is far different: The dispute does not turn upon a word, or a single mistake of a place or action, but whether the whole relation be true or false. For *Appian's* account is such, that one part confirms another, and all three Historians agree in general in the same account; and therefore, if the battle was not fought at their *Philippi*, the whole description of the march of both armies, the geography of the country, the disposition of the camps, and defiles leading to them, and the advantages accruing to *Brutus* from the fleet, and isle of *Thasus*, must be all imaginary: There could be no fleet lying near, no sea-marshes, no lines drawn across them to intercept communication; in short, every article of this part of their history, must be pure invention and romance; and what critics would be so good-natured to allow all this to be no more than the slip of a pen occasioned by resemblance of names?

Since it appears then, that the account given us by *Appian*, and the other Historians, if it is fabulous, could not proceed from want of opportunities of being better informed, nor from haste, or inadvertency, but must be merely from design, the only thing remaining to be examined, is, Whether we have any reason to suspect them of such a wilful premeditated forgery. And here, distance of time is entirely out of the question, or, if it comes at all under consideration, 'tis to their advantage; for we know, that passion and spleen may so far blind an Historian, when he is talking of the affairs of his own time, as to make him prostitute his character to party zeal, and call God in the most solemn manner to witness to a lye. But in the present case, there could be no such motives; no prejudice or affection could induce those Historians deliberately to fix a battle in a wrong country, and counterfeit descriptions which had no relation to the real place of action, and therefore, if they have done so, 'twas purely lying for lying's sake, to indulge an idle, romantic genius:—Indeed these fathers do not scruple to lay this to *Appian's* charge. They tell us, “ This Greek Writer, “ who lived much after the time, having fancied that *Philippi* in *Macedonia* was the place, where *Octavius* and *Antony* gain'd their famous victory, in order to give some colour of truth to this pretence, “ has counterfeited camps, marches, lakes, mountains, and rivers, “ upon the confines of *Macedonia* and *Thrace*, and that those accu-

† Cet Ecrivain Grec, qui vivoit en des tems bien posterieurs, s'est imaginé que la Philippes de Macedoine avoit servi de scène à la victoire d'Octavien, & d'Antoine. Pour donner une couleur de verité à sa pretention, il a feint des campemens,

des marches, & des situations de lacs, de montagnes, & de rivières, aux confins de la Macedoine, & de la Thrace. Tant de circonstances accumulées ont induit dans l'erreur la plupart des modernes. *Hist. Rom.* tom. 18. p. 188.

“ mulated

"mulated circumstances have led most of the moderns into a
"mistake."

Such a character of ingenious fiction, might suit very well with the author of *Cassandra*, or *Gleopatra*, but is a severe attack upon the veracity of a celebrated Historian, and what, I believe, was never before laid to his charge. ^a *Photius*, in his *Bibliotheca*, calls him, "a lover of truth, and particularly well skill'd in military history", and so far was he, according to that critic, from having a luxuriant fancy, that he rather taxes him with being too jejune.

Other critics have not spar'd their censures of him, but they are of a quite different nature from this of the *French* fathers. *Scaliger*, in his rough language, calls him, ^b *Alienorum laborum fucum*; and *Ger. Vossius* says, ⁱ "That the learned have long observed, that he was much indebted to *Polybius*, and that he us'd to transcribe *Plutarch*, word for word." And considering how vast a work he undertook, this observation may probably be very just; but then these very reflections serve to vindicate him from this new charge. Besides, had he really been so much given to flourishing, as is here pretended, how came he to chuse for a fabulous scene, one of the most remarkable parts of history, where he might be so easily detected? This was the greatest folly as well as dishonesty: He should rather have shew'd this genius in other parts of his works; his *Syrian*, *Punic*, or *Mithridatic* wars, &c. where he might have expatiated with more safety. And if this be true, we have reason to suspect all his works, and ought no longer to rank him among the Historians, but Romancers. But this would be granting more than his adversaries will care to allow: The frequent use they have made of him, and his associates, thro' the greatest part of their history, is a full proof that they have a better opinion of them, and the success of their own works is a manifest evidence of what I undertook to prove, that neither difference of country, nor distance of a century or two, are sufficient to destroy the credit of Historians.

In short, there is not the least pretence to suspect that the *Greek* Historians have misrepresented the battle of *Philippi*, either thro' ignorance, inadvertency, or design. The evidence is as clear in their favour as the Poets; and, all circumstances consider'd, if any thing can be more unreasonable than the former charge against *Virgil*, it is this of the fathers against the Historians.

^a Ἐστὶ δὲ τὴν φρεσὶν ἀπίσταντος καὶ ἰσχυρῆς. Τὸν δὲ ἱστορίαν, ὡς οἶοντο εἶναι, φιλαλέθης, καὶ ἐργαστηριῶν ἀλλ' τῆς ἱστορίας μεθόδων, εἴτις ἀλλοῦ, υποφύτης. Phot. Biblioth.

^b Scaliger in Animadvers. Eusebianis. Edit.

Commelin. p. 163.

ⁱ Sane multum Polybio debens, ac Plutarchum ad verbum exscribere solitum vi. i docti jamdiu observarunt. *Ger. Voss. de Hist. Græc.* lib. ii. cap. 13.

The truth is, these learned men are themselves guilty of what they lay to *Appian's* charge. They first persuade themselves that both battles were fought on the same spot, and then resolve, right or wrong, to make it out^k. They transport both armies I know not how, by a kind of withcraft, above two hundred miles from the Straits of the *Sapæi*, into *Thessaly*, and there form camps, and counterfeit whatever they think requisite to give any colour to their scheme. And when they thus sacrifice the reputation of the Historians, it is not to the Poets, as they pretend, but in reality to their own misinterpretation of them. For the Poets, I am persuaded, no where affirm that both battles were fought on the same spot. Their interpreters mistake them, and affirm so for them: As I hope to make appear in my following letters.

L E T T E R V.

VIRGIL's TWO PHILIPPI explain'd and reconcil'd to History.

MOST of the disputes we have in the world, are owing to our misapprehending each others meaning; as soon as we come to a right understanding, we find no foundation for quarrelling, we are all of the same mind.

And as these controversies frequently happen even among those who speak and write the same language; with much more reason may they be expected between Poets and Historians, who are obliged to talk, as it were, different dialects. Whenever therefore they seem to contradict one another in facts, where 'tis scarce possible that either of them should err (as in the case before us) we should do well to consider, whether the Poet, whose language is most difficult, and consequently most liable to be misunderstood, has not some hidden meaning different from what his words seem at first to import. And, upon farther examination, we may probably find, that, as widely as he seems to differ from the Historians, they are perfectly agreed, and mean the same thing by different expressions.

^k See their Hist. vol. 18. p. 175, 176, &c.

'Tis true that several commentators have canvass'd this passage of *Virgil*, and endeavour'd to explain him in such a manner, as to reconcile him to history. No one has labour'd this point more than *Ruæus*. But his interpretation can be of no service to the other poets, if 'tis to *Virgil*: 'Tis purely an Evasion. And I am persuaded, from what I have heard you say on this subject, that all the other explications you have met with, have given you very little satisfaction, and perhaps as little to the generality of the world.

When I have said this, you may think it great presumption in me to pretend to solve a difficulty, which has been so often attempted unsuccessfully. But you know, when people meet with a difficult knot (* such as *Ruæus* calls this) they chuse to cut it, rather than give themselves the trouble to untie it, or else they twist and entangle it more, by being in too great a hurry, or not taking a right method to examine it as they ought. Yet after all, it may so happen, that a less skilful hand that has patience to turn and search it round, may luckily hit upon the right thread, and then nothing may appear more easy than to unravel it. This I take to be our present case, and the knotty point, which has occasion'd so much perplexity, may, I think, be easily solv'd by supposing — That *Virgil* means by his two battles of *Philippi*, not two battles fought on the same individual spot, but at two distant places of the same name; the former, at *Philippi* near *Pharsalus* in *Thessaly*, the latter, at *Philippi* near the confines of *Thrace*. And tho' the Historians (all except *Lucius Florus*) for distinction's sake, call the latter battle only by the name of *Philippi*, yet as there was a *Philippi* likewise near *Pharsalia*, in sight of which the former was fought, the Poets (for certain reasons which I shall consider hereafter) call both by the same name. But to set this matter in a clearer light, I beg leave to shew,

First, That there were two *Philippi*, near which the two battles were fought.

Secondly, That both *Philippi* were in *Macedonia*, otherwise call'd *Æmathia*.

Thirdly, That both were at the foot of mount *Hæmus*.

The former of these articles will serve to illustrate the two first verses,

*Ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis
Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi.*

And the other two articles may explain the two latter,

*Nec fuit indignum superis bis sanguine nostro
Æmathiam, & latos Hæmi pinguescere campos.*

* Difficilem Nodum.

And first, that there were two *Philippi*.

Every body allows the famous city of that name on the confines of *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, in ancient times call'd *Datum*, and afterwards *Crenides*, 'till it took the name of *Philippi*, from *Philip* the father of *Alexander*. Besides this famous city, there was another town of less note, of the same name, in *Theffaly*, formerly call'd *Theba*, and sur-named *Philippopolis*, and by contraction *Philippi*, from *Philip* the son of *Demetrius*. This place lay in that part of *Theffaly* call'd *Phthiotis*, and therefore was usually call'd the *Phthian*, or *Theffalian Thebes*, to distinguish it from *Thebes* in *Bæotia*.—^bSee *Polybius*, *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Livy*, and *Pliny*.

Polybius, in the fifth book of his *History*, giving an account of King *Philip's* war against the *Ætolians*, tells us, "That his principal view in that expedition, was to take from them *Thebae Phthiotides*, and therefore encamping near the *Enipeus*, he went and laid siege to that town; which he describes as a place of great importance. That it was about three hundred furlongs (thirty-seven miles and half) from *Larissa*; that it lay convenient to command *Magnesia* and *Theffaly*, adjoining to that part of *Magnesia* which belong'd to the *Demetrians*, and to that part of *Theffaly* inhabited by the *Pharsalians* and *Pheræans*. That the *Ætolians*, who were at that time masters of it, us'd from thence to make incursions on the *Demetrians*, *Pharsalians*, and *Larisseans*. Cap. 99." And then adds, "That when *Philip* had made himself master of the place, he reduced the inhabitants under his yoke, placed there a colony of *Macedonians*, and, instead of its former name *Thebes*, call'd it the city of *Philip*: Φιλίππου πὴν πάλιν ἀντὶ Θεῶν καλεώμεσεν." Cap. c.

Diadorus, in the passage cited above, says, it was call'd in his time, *Philippopolis*: And *Stephanus Byzantinus*, or (as some will have it) his epitomizer *Hermolaus*, says it was call'd *Philippi*. At least (which is enough for our purpose) the Poets certainly call it so, particularly *Lucan*, in several passages of his *Pharsalia*.

For instance, when *Sext. Pompeius*, a little before the battle of *Pharsalia*, goes to consult the *Theffalian* witch, *Ericto*, about their success, *Lucan* represents her sitting on a rock, which overlook'd the *Pharsalian* plain, and spreading her enchantments over *Philippi*; that the battle might not be transfer'd to any other place.

^b Θεῶν Φθίας. *Polyb. Legat. 6.* — Θεῶν Φθιάτιδος. *Strabo lib. 9.* — Θεῶν Φθιάτιδος. *Ptolemy, lib. iii. c. 13.* — Ἡ γὰρ ἡ καλεῖται Φιλισπο- πόλις καὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίαν Φθιάτιδος Θεῶν καλεῖται. *Diod. Sic. lib. vi. fragm.* — Thebae Theffalix.

Blin. lib. iv. c. 8. — Thebas Phthias. *Liv. lib. xxxii. c. 33.* — Again, *lib. xxviii. c. 7.* Thebas Phthioticas. — And, *lib. xxxix.* he calls this place by both names, within the space of ten lines, *Philippopolis* and *Theba Phthia*.

— *Hanc fidi scelerum sœtisque Ministri,
Effraetos circum tumulos ac busta vagati,
Conspexere procul præruptâ in caute sedentem,
Quâ juga devexus Pharsalica porrigit Hæmus.
Illa magis magicisque Deis incognita verba
Tentabat, carmenque novos fingebat in usus,
Namque timens, nè Mars alium vagus iret in orbem;
Æmathis & tellus tam multâ cæde careret,
Pollutos cantu, dirisque venefica succis
Conspersos vetuit transmittere bella Philippos;
Tot mortes habitura suas, usuraque mundi
Sanguine.* — Lucan vi. 573, &c.

Again, when the soldiers who follow'd *Cato* into *Libya*, after the defeat at *Pharsalia*, were going to desert, upon the news of *Pompey's* death, *Cato* reproaches them with cowardice, and says, "*Cæsar* will easily believe by this behaviour, that they were the first who turn'd their backs at the battle of *Philippi*;" which must be *Pharsalia*.

— *Credet faciles sibi terga dedisse,
Credet ab Æmathiis primos fugisse Philippi.* Lib. ix. 271.

There are many other instances in *Lucan*, to this purpose, which I may have occasion to produce hereafter; but I must not omit one here, which is very remarkable, that tho' he gives his poem the title of *Pharsalia*, yet the first time he speaks of that fatal battle, he mentions it by the name of *Philippi*:

— *Video Pangæa nivosis
Cana jugis, latosque Hæmi sub rupe Philippos.* Lib. i. 680.

'Tis farther observable, that *Lucan's* poem is nam'd indifferently both from *Pharsalia* and *Philippi*, by *Statius* in his *Silvæ*, where he introduces *Calliope* celebrating that author. When she has spoken to him prophetically of his more puerile performances, she concludes with his noblest work, and names the subject of it from *Philippi* and *Pharsalia*, as synonymous terms:

* *Mox cæptâ generosior juventâ
Albos ossibus Italis Philippos,
Et Pharsalica bella detonabis.*

* *Mons Pangæus* is usually plac'd by Geographers, at the east end of *Macedonia*, but here the Poet uses it in a more extensive sense, for the whole range of mountains spreading themselves

over all that country, and therefore he speaks in the plural number, and probably alludes to the etymology of the name.

† *Statius* Geneth. *Lucani*, lib. ii. *carm.* 7.

And it is still more remarkable, that *Sidonius Apollinaris* speaks of the same poem, by the title of *Philippi* only, when he celebrates the three authors who were natives of *Corduba*, the two *Senecas*, and *Lucan*:

*Pugnam * tertius ille Gallicani
Dixit Cæsaris, ut gener, socerque
Cognata impulerint in arma Romam,
Tantum dans lachrymis suis Philippis,
Ut credat Cremeræ levem ruinam.* Sidon. carm. ix. § 236, &c.

Having thus made it appear, that, besides the famous city near *Thrace*, there was another *Philippi*, in *Thessaly*, near the *Pharsalian* plain, and that the battle between *Julius Cæsar* and *Pompey*, was often distinguish'd by the name of *That Philippi*, as well as by the name of *Pharsalia*, I proceed next to shew,

That both *Philippi*, were in *Macedonia* or *Æmathia*.

This country, like many others, underwent several changes, both as to its extent and name. It was anciently call'd † *Pæonia*, then *Æmathia*, and afterwards *Macedonia*, as we learn from *Livy*, *Suidas*, and many other writers, both *Greek* and *Latin*. *Æmathia* or *Pæonia*, properly so call'd, were only small districts of what was afterwards call'd *Macedonia*: So we are inform'd by ‡ *Ptolemy*, who places *Æmathia* betwixt the rivers *Axius* and *Aliacmon*, and reckons the chief cities of that division, *Edeffa*, and *Pella*. In process of time, the name *Æmathia* was usually given to all *Macedonia*, in its full extent, and both words us'd indifferently, as synonymous terms; the prose writers generally calling it *Macedonia*, and the poets, for a very obvious reason, as constantly, *Æmathia*.

This being premis'd, I shall now shew, That the two *Philippi*, were within that province.

And first, for the famous city near *Thrace*.

It must be allow'd, that, 'till the time of *Philip*, the father of *Alexander*, *Macedonia* reach'd no farther eastward than the river *Strymon*,

* *Lucan*.

† *Æmathia* quæ nunc dicitur, quondam appellata *Pæonia* est. *Liv.* lib. xl.

‡ *Ἡμαθία ἢ τὸ παλαιὸν Παιονία πρὸς τὰ γέφυρα δὲ ὁρμῆν.* *Suidas*.

Macedonia, Æmathia antea dicta. *Plin.* lib. iv. § 17.

Macedonia antea nomine Emathionis regis, cujus prima virtutis experimenta in illis locis extant, Emathia cognominata est. *Justin.* l. vii. c. 1.

Ἡμαθία ἢ τὴν Μακεδονίαν. *Stephanus de urbibus & populis.* — Ἡ δὲ Μακεδονία ἡγεμὼν πότε τῆς

ἡμονίαν χάριν, ἥτις καὶ Ἡμαθία πρὸς τὴν ἰκαλιῆτον. *Eustath.* ad *Dionys.* § 254.

Lucan makes so little scruple of using *Emathia* for *Macedonia*, that he calls the palace of *Alexandria*, *Emathia tecta*, because built by *Alexander* the *Macedonian* King.

— Cum se parvâ *Cleopatra* biremi
Intulit *Emathii*, ignaro *Cæsare*, tectis,
Dedecus *Ægypti*. — *Lib.* x. 58.

§ See *Ptolemy*, *Lib.* iii. c. 13.

and this city, at that time, must consequently belong to *Thrace*. So *Scylax* expressly tells us, "Beyond *Macedonia* is the river ^h *Strymon*, " which is the boundary between *Macedonia* and *Thrace*." But this Geographer liv'd many years before that country was added to *Macedonia*, (i. e.) before the time of *Philip*. And it may be observ'd, that in his catalogue of the cities of *Thrace*, he mentions no *Philippi*, but calls it by its ancient name, *Datum*. Indeed some later Geographers set the same limits. ⁱ *Pliny* says, "That the river *Strymon*, " which rises in mount *Hæmus*, is the boundary of *Macedonia*." And ^k *Strabo*, "That all the countries beyond the *Strymon*, as far as the " mouth of the *Pontus*, and to mount *Hæmus*, belong to the " *Thracians*."

But in this they must be understood according to ancient Geography, not as it was in their own time; for *Strabo* himself, within a few lines after the former passage, subjoins — ^l "Some reckon that country like- " wise, from the *Strymon* to the *Nessus* in *Macedonia*," and adds this reason, "because *Philip* took peculiar pains to make himself master of " that district, and rais'd very great revenues from the mines, and " other products of the country." Again, at the latter end of the same book, the epitomizer having cursorily run over *Macedonia*, says; ^m "Then follows the mouth of the *Nessus*, which separates *Macedo- " nia* and *Thrace*, according to the bounds set by *Philip* and his son " *Alexander* in their time."

The same boundary still continu'd when that country fell into the hands of the *Romans*. *Livy* tells us expressly, that when *Paulus Æmilius* had taken King *Perseus* prisoner, and made *Macedonia* tributary to the *Romans*, ⁿ "He divided the country into four parts: One of which " was all that district lying between the *Strymon* and the *Nessus*," which was called *Macedonia Prima*, or *Macedonia Thracia*, because it formerly belong'd to *Thrace*. Agreeably to this division, we find this district reckon'd in Holy Scripture, in *Macedonia*. *St. Luke*, in his account of *St. Paul's* travels, calls *Philippi*, ^o the chief city of that part

^h Μετὰ Μακεδονίαν Στρυμόν ποταμὸς ὅτε ὁρίξει Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θράκην. Scylacis Periplus. Art. De Macedonia.

ⁱ Macedonia terminus amnis Strymon ortus in Hæmo. Nat. Hist. lib. iv. c. 10.

^k Τα δὲ περὶ Στρυμόν ὁδὸν, μέγας τὸ Ποτικὸν ῥοαίον καὶ τὸ Ἄμυν, πάντα Θράκην ἱστῶ. Strabo lib. vii. p. 323. Ed. Par.

^l Τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Στρυμόν καὶ μέγας Νέσσου τὴν Μακεδονίαν περὶσφύσσουσιν. — Ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἰσχυρὰς ἀφαιρῶντας περὶ τὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, ὥστε ἐξιδύσασθαι καὶ συνιστάσθαι περὶσφύσας μεγίστας ἐκ τῆς

μεταδύων, καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ Νέσσου τῆς πόλεως. Strabo lib. vii.

^m Εἰτα τὸ Νέσσον ῥοαίαν τὴν διὸρίζουσαν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θράκην, ὡς Φίλιππος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρος ὁ τότε πᾶσι διώκοντες, ἐν τοῖς κατ' αὐτοὺς χρόνοις. Excerpta ad finem lib. vii.

ⁿ Deinde in quatuor regiones dividi Macedoniam jussit. Unam fore & primam partem quod agri inter Strymonem & Nessum amnem sit, &c. Livy, lib. xlv. § 29.

^o Or rather, a city of the first part, or division of Macedonia. For, Le Clerc with great proba-

of Macedonia (πρώτη τῆς μεγάλῃ τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις) *Æt.* cap. xvi. § 12.

Thus far for *Philippi* near *Thrace*. I shall now shew, that as *Macedonia* reach'd eastward as far as the *Nessus*, so to the south, it comprehended all *Thessaly*, and consequently took in the *Pharsalian Philippi*.

'Tis true that *Thessaly* did not entirely follow the same fate with the other district. For notwithstanding *Philip*, the father of *Alexander*, had annex'd both countries to *Macedonia*, yet afterwards, *Thessaly* was dismembred from it by the *Romans*, in the first *Macedonian* war^r. And tho' *Philip* the son of *Demetrius*, who was subdued by *Titus Quintius Flamininus* at the famous battle of *Cynoscephalæ*, was, on the conclusion of the peace, restor'd to the rest of his dominions, yet the several states of *Greece*, which had been long subject to the *Macedonians*, and with them the *Thessalians*, were set at liberty, and *Macedonia*, on that side, reduced to its ancient limits. This we find attested by *Livy*, who has recorded the decree of the *Roman* Senate on this occasion, as it was publicly proclaimed by an Herald in the general Assembly of the *Greeks*, at their *Isthmian* games^q. Again, when *K. Perseus* was conquer'd and taken prisoner by *P. Æmilius*, in the second *Macedonian* war, and that kingdom extinguish'd, and the country restor'd to liberty, on payment of tribute to the *Romans*, *Thessaly*, which continued faithful to *Rome*, still preserv'd its former freedom. And therefore, upon the division of *Macedonia* into four parts, by *P. Æmilius*, as above-mention'd, *Thessaly*, or the greatest part of it, was not included, but the river *Peneus* fix'd as the boundary of *Macedonia* on that side. During this time, *Thessaly* must be considered as a free country, independent of *Macedonia*. But it did not long enjoy this liberty, for the *Macedonians* having taken up arms again under *Andriscus*, surnamed *Pseudo-philippus*, and other usurpers, were at length totally subdued, in the third *Macedonian* war, by *Q. Metellus*, thence surnam'd *Macedonicus*. And the *Achaian* war breaking out about the same time (occasion'd by the insult offered to the *Roman* ambassadors at *Corinth*) the several states of *Greece*, properly so call'd, together with *Peloponnesus*, were conquer'd by *L. Mummius*. Thus, that whole

bility conjectures, that πρώτη, not πρώτη, is the true reading. And *Castellio*, as if he had read πρώτη in his copy, translates it *Primæ Partis*. Τῆς μεγάλῃ is, the part: Upon which, the question naturally arises, what part? A question which can no way receive a satisfactory answer, but by reading πρώτη: It was that part, which *Livy* informs us, was the first of the four into which *Macedonia* was divided by *Paulus Æmilius*.

^r About the year of *Rome* 557.

^q Senatus populusque Romanus, & Quintius imperator, Philippo Rege Macedonibusque devictis, liberos, immunes, suis legibus esse jubet Corinthios, Phocenses, Locrensesque omnes, & insulam Eubœam, & Magnetæ, THESSALOS, Perræbos, Achæos, Phthiotas. *Liv.* lib. 33. c. 32.

^r Tertia pars facta quam Axius amnis ab oriente, Peneus amnis ab occasu cingunt. *Liv.* lib. xlv. c. 29.

^s About the year of *Rome* 607.

country

country, by the name of * *Achaia*, being reduc'd, as well as *Macedonia*, to the form of a *Roman* province, *Thessaly*, which lay between them, could not escape being swallowed up with them. And as it was subjected to the same governor, so probably it was then reunited again to *Macedonia*. See * *Ruf. Fest.* and * *Sigonius*. But whether that was the time of their re-union or not, this is certain, that, when *Virgil* wrote, (which is all we want to prove) *Thessaly* was not only reckon'd within the province of *Macedonia*, and subject to the same governor, but was so far incorporated with it, that at that time it was usually comprehended under one name.

Strabo, going to describe that part of *Europe* from the * *Adriatic* to the mouth of the *Danube*, and reckoning up all the nations contain'd within that tract, divides them into *Greece*, *Macedonia*, *Epirus*, the *Illyrians* and * *Thracians*. And his epitomizer, describing that part of the same peninsula which is bounded to the north by *Hæmus*, and on all other sides by the sea, divides the whole into these four general parts, *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, *Epirus*, and *Achaia*; therefore *Thessaly* must be contain'd under one of them. * *Eutropius* speaking of the civil war between J. *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, distinguishes all that country, exclusive of *Thrace*, into these three parts, *Epirus*, *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*; and as *Thessaly* was the principal scene of action, it must necessarily be included. Again, * *Dio Cassius* speaking of the allotment of the several provinces of the *Roman* empire, by *Augustus*, in *Virgil's* time (about the year of *Rome* 727) when the emperor gave up the direction of some of the provinces to the people and senate of *Rome*, and reserv'd others to himself, he divides that whole country, including *Dalmatia*, into these three parts, *Greece* with *Epirus*, *Dalmatia*, and *Macedonia*.—Again, * in the following reign of *Tiberius*, this whole

* Καλοῦσι δ' ἡν Ἑλλάδι, ἀλλ' Ἀχαιῶν ἰγυό-
ναι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, διότι ἔχεισαντο Ἑλλήνας δι' Ἀχαι-
ῶν τότε τῶ Ἑλληνικῷ περιηκόντων. * *Pausanias*, lib.
vii. c. 16.

* *Libera* diu sub amicis nostris *Achaia* fuit. Ad extremum (legatis Romanorum apud Corinthum violatis) per *L. Mummius* consulem, capta Corintho, *Achaia* omnis obtenta est. *Epirotæ*, qui aliquando cum rege *Pyrrho* in *Italiam* venire præsumperant, victi, atque *Thessali* simul cum *Achivorum* & *Macedonum* regionibus, nobis accesserunt. *Rufi Festi Breviar.*

* *Sigonius*, speaking of the recovery of *Macedonia* from *Pseudo-Philippus*, by *Q. Metellus*, has this remark. "Tum vero *Thessaliam* *Macedoniæ* formulæ esse ascriptam facile existimamus, &c." *Car. Sigonius de Antiquo Jure Provinciarum*. Lib. i. c. 8.

† Λοιπὴ δ' ἐστὶ τῆς Ἑυρώπης ἡ ἰνὸς ὅτι Ἰσθμὸς καὶ τῆς κύκλου θαλάσσης ἀρχαῖον καὶ τὸ μὲν ὅτι Ἀδριατικὸν, &c. *Strabo*, lib. vii. p. 313. Edit. Steph.

* Τὰ δὲ ἔρη ταῦτα, ἀρχαῖον καὶ τὸ ὅτι Ἀδριατικὸν, διήκει κατ' οὐθύναν γεγραμμένον ἐν τῇ Ἑυρώπῃ ποιεῖν ἡ χερσόνησος μεγάλη πρὸς Νότον, τὴν τι Θεσσαλίαν, ὅπου καὶ Μακεδονίαν, καὶ Ἀχαιῶν. Excerpta ad hunc *Strabonis* lib. vii.

* *Consules* cum *Pompeio*, *Senatusque* omnis, atque universa nobilitas ex urbe fugit, & in *Græciam* transivit. Apud *Epirum*, *Macedoniam*, *Achaïam*, *Pompeio* duce, contra *Cæsarem* bellum paravit. *Eutropii Brev.* lib. vi. 16.

* Ἐπομύθη δὲ ταῦτα ἡ ὁδὸς Ἀφρικὴ καὶ ἡ Νημερία ἔτι Ἀσία, καὶ ἡ Ἑλλάς μετὰ τῆς Ἠπείρου, καὶ τὸ Δαλματικόν, τὸ τε Μακεδονικόν, &c. Τότε ὅμως καὶ τῆς γερουσίας ἐνία. *Dio. Cass.* lib. liii.

* *Achaïam* ac *Macedoniam* onera deprecantes country

country is comprehended by that accurate writer *Tacitus*, under the names of *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*, only; *Epirus* being included in the latter, as it was part of the same province, and *Dalmatia* omitted, because *Augustus* had before resum'd the government of it to himself, as *Dio Cassius* informs us in the place above-mention'd.

The Holy Scriptures speak the same language with respect to *Macedonia* and *Achaia*. St. *Luke* giving an account of St. *Paul's* travels, says, *When he had pass'd through Macedonia and Achaia. Acts xix. 21.* And St. *Paul*, in his Epistle to the *Romans*, *It hath pleas'd them of Macedonia and Achaia, to make a certain contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem. Rom. xv. 26.* In short, wherever the apostle speaks of this country (as 2 *Cor. ix. 2.* and *xi. 9, 10.* 1 *Thess. i. 7, 8.*) he constantly uses the names *Macedonia* and *Achaia* only, tho' probably he had preach'd in *Thessaly* too, since he himself tells us in his Epistle to the *Romans* (which was written from *Corinth*) that from *Jerusalem* and round about (καὶ κύκλῳ) unto *Illyricum* he had fully preach'd the Gospel of Christ. And tho' he must necessarily have pass'd thro' *Thessaly*, in his several journeys betwixt *Philippi* and *Corinth*, yet neither St. *Luke* in his account of those journeys, nor St. *Paul* himself, ever once mentions the name. — From all these testimonies both sacred and prophane, it plainly appears, that *Thessaly* must be included in *Macedonia* or *Achaia*; and that it was in the former, is very evident, not only as it had formerly been a member of it, but from *Ptolemy's* account; who expressly tells us, "That the southern boundary of *Macedonia*, was a line drawn from the mouth of the river *Cehydus*, along the side of *Epirus*, and then of *Achaia*, to the *Malian Bay*, in which line lie mount *Pindus* and *Oeta*." This manifestly includes all *Thessaly*. And in the same chapter, *Ptolemy* reckons all the *Thessalian* towns, particularly our *Thebæ Phthiotides* (or *Philippi*) in *Macedonia*, and never once mentions *Thessaly* as a distinct province.

Notwithstanding all I have said, it must be acknowledged, that *Thessaly* seems often to be distinguish'd from *Macedonia* by the best authors. So *Cæsar* in his *Commentaries* calls the river *Haliacmon* (not *Peneus*, as *Livy* and others) the boundary between those countries; and gene-

levari in præfens proconsulari imperio, tradi Cæsari placuit. Tac. Annal. l. i. c. 76. — And again, Cap. 80. — Prorogatur Popæo Sabino provincia Mæsia, additis Achaiâ, & Macedonia.

^d Ὑπερ τὴν μὲν Κύπερον καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Ναρβωνα τὴν δὲ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν Δαλματίαν ἀντίλαβεν. Dio Cass. ibid.

^e Ἀπὸ δὲ μεταβολῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦτον γεγραμμένης ὁ δὲ μὲν τὸν Ἑπνεον ὡς πέραν τῆς ἰσθμῆς ὁ δὲ τὸν γεγραμμένον ὡς

τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Πύδον ὁ δὲ.

Περὶ δὲ τὴν Ἀχαιὴν ἐξ ἧς μέλει τὸ Μελισσὸν κέλευθον ἰσθμῆς γεγραμμένης ἐστὶν ἡ Οἰτὴ τὸ ὄρος. Ptol. lib. iii. cap. 13.

^f Quò iter expeditus faceret M. Favonium, ad flumen Haliacmonem, quod Macedoniam a Thessaliâ dividit, cum cohortibus lxx, præsidio impediementis legionum reliquit, Castellumque ibi muni-ri iussit. Cæs. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii. c. 36.

rally

rally indeed, in his account of that war, he mentions *Thessaly* and *Macedonia* apart. But this he may be suppos'd to do, with regard to the ancient division, for clearness and distinction's sake, as that part of the country was the principal seat of the war. The like distinction of names still continues between *Wales* and *England*, notwithstanding they have been so long united into one country.

In short, unless we allow *Thessaly* to be part of *Macedonia* (or *Æmathia* according to the Poets language) how can we explain many passages in *Lucan*, who generally gives it the epithet, *Emathian*, almost in every page of his poem; and expressly calls his *Pharsalia*, *Emathis*, (li. ii. 250.) and the country which was the seat of the campaign between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, *Macetum Terras*, lib. v. § 2. — Nay, what an egregious blunder had he committed, even at first setting out, to begin his poem with — *Bella per Æmathios campos*?

I have insisted the longer on this head, because Geographers differ very much in their maps and descriptions of *Macedonia*, especially on the side of *Thessaly*, which is represented by most of them as a distinct province. Whereas it appears, that from the time of *Philip* the father of *Alexander* (unless for about fifty years from the first to the third *Macedonian* war) it was constantly reputed as a part of *Macedonia*, not only in the style of poets, who might be allow'd to stretch a little, but even in vulgar language. And the settling this true boundary to *Macedonia*, so as to take in both *Philippi*, is of singular use in explaining this passage in *Virgil*, as well as many others in the other Poets. — I must now advance one step farther, to shew that

Both *Philippi* were near mount *Hæmus*.

This assertion may seem at first sight directly contradictory to what we have been before proving. For if the two *Philippi* were so far from each other, at the two most distant extremities of *Macedonia*, how could they be both situated at the foot of *Hæmus*, a mountain of *Thrace*? The eastern *Philippi* was indeed on the confines of *Thrace*, and therefore there can be no great difficulty in placing *that* at the foot of this mountain; but to bring *Hæmus* into *Thessaly* (which we usually find in maps at so wide a distance) may appear as strange as the old fabulous accounts of moving the mountains of that country, *Petion* and *Ossa*. But if we consider the matter fairly, we may perhaps find this no hard task. Let us look upon *Hæmus* in the same view as the *Alpes* and *Appenines*, not as a single mountain, but an extensive chain. Agreeably to this notion, 'tis commonly call'd *Cadena del Mondo*, as father *Hardouin* informs us in his *Pliny*, lib. iv. § 18. The old epitomizer of *Strabo* speaking of *Hæmus*, tells us (as before observ'd) that these

mountains reached in a strait line from the *Euxine Sea* to the *Adriatick*; and as the same ^b ridge stretch'd itself farther on, tho' not in a strait line, yet uninterrupted quite through *Macedonia* and *Greece*, encompassing *Thessaly*, why might not the same name be continued throughout? It must be allow'd, that the head or highest part of the mountain was in *Thrace*, and one province of that country was from thence call'd *Hæmimontana*. But all the other mountains, viz. *Rhodope*, *Pangæus*, &c. quite round to *Pindus* and *Oeta*, are branch'd out from the same head, and therefore may deservedly be reckon'd limbs of the same body. And as *St. Bernard*, *St. Goddard*, *Mount Senis*, *Monte Giogo*, *Maiella*, &c. are only different names by which we distinguish the several parts of the *Alpes* and *Appennines*, with the same reason that whole length of mountains which begins in *Thrace*, and runs in a continual chain thro' *Macedonia* and *Greece*, might properly be call'd *Hæmus*, tho' every link had its different name. *Virgil* himself seems likewise in another place to take this mountain in the same extensive view, when he cries out,

— *O qui me gelidis in vallibus Hæmi*

Sistat! & ingenti ramorum protegat umbra!

Georg. ii. ♪ 488.

The Poet is drawing a comparison between the pomp of great men, and the innocent pleasures of a country life; and as all the other places mention'd in this passage, were in *Thessaly* or *Achaia*, 'tis reasonable to suppose, that by the valleys of *Hæmus*, he means the same country too; and that his wish was to retire thither to the fountains of the *Muses*, or groves of the *Philosophers*. In this sense father *Catrou* understands him in his note on ⁱ *O! ubi Tempe*, &c. Georg. ii. 486.

But as it is possible that *Virgil* (as elegant a taste as he had) might prefer even the wilds of *Thrace*, to the vanities of a court, I shall insist no farther on this argument, but proceed to quote some passages from *Lucan*, which evidently shew that *Hæmus* reach'd to the *Thessalian Philippi*. Thus at the latter end of the first book, he prophesies that the battle of *Pbarsalia* (which he calls by the name of *Philippi*) was to be fought under the rock of *Hæmus*:

— *Latofque Hæmi sub rupe Philippos.*

♪ 681.

^b *Servius* did not consider this; but observing that the Poets mention *Hæmus* in *Thessaly*, therefore he calls it twice *Mons Thessaliæ*, and seems to take it as a distinct mountain of that country, (Note on G. i. ♪ 492. and G. ii. ♪ 488;) whereas the Poets reckon it only as a branch of the *Thracian* mountain extended into *Thessaly*, and call'd by them, in their figurative Language, by the

same name.

ⁱ Le Mont *Hæmus* commence en *Thessalie*, se repand ensuite dans la *Macedoine* puis dans la *Thrace*, & finit en *Scythie*, *Virgile* alors soupairoit apres la *Greece*. Il avoit resolu d'y aller consumer le reste de ses jours dans l'etude de la philosophie. — See *Catrou's Translation of Virgil*.

L E T T E R VI.

37

Again, when he has brought both armies into the plains of *Pharsalia*, and is describing the frightful dreams which terrified *Pompey's* army the night before the engagement, he says,

*Multis concurrere visus Olympo
Pindus, & abruptis mergi convallibus Hæmus,
Edere nocturnas belli Pharsalia voces,
Ire per Ossaëam rapidus Bæbëida sanguis.*

Lib. vii. 174.

All the other places here mention'd with *Pharsalia*, were strictly in that neighbourhood; the mountains of *Thrace* were at too great distance to be concern'd; and therefore, it must be supposed, that he means only a branch of *Hæmus*, stretch'd out into *Thessaly*, which he fancies shaken with the same convulsion.

Again, (book X.) *Lucan* speaking of *Julius Cæsar's* being besieged in *Cleopatra's* palace at *Alexandria*, expressly calls *Hæmus*, *Thessalian*:

Audax Thessalici qui nuper rupe sub Hæmi.

¶ 449.

And (book VI.) when the companions of *S. Pompeius* are enquiring for the *Thessalian* Witch before-mention'd, the Poet brings *Hæmus* even to *Pharsalia*:

*Conspexere procul præruptâ in rupe sedentem,
Quâ^k juga devexus Pharsalica porrigit Hæmus.*

¶ 576.

Where it must be observ'd, that he describes the *Pharsalian* hills, as spurs of *Hæmus*, and stretch'd out from the declivity of that mountain.

L E T T E R VI.

Reasons why VIRGIL chose to call both Battles by one Name.

FROM what has been said in my former letter, I hope you will allow, that by means of the two *Philippi*, this controverted passage in *Virgil*, considered by itself only, may be understood. The chief dif-

^k The spurs or branches of a mountain properly call'd *Juga*: So *Ovid* in his story of *Atlas*, changes his head into the *Cacumen*, and his hands and shoulders into the *Juga*:

*Quantus erat mons factus Atlas, jam barba comæque
In silvas abeunt: juga sunt humerique manisque:
Quod caput ante fuit summo est in monte cacumen.*

Ovid. Met. lib. iv. fab. 17.
ficulty

ficulty consisted in not thoroughly examining the foremention'd articles. Those being clear'd up

— *Circumfusa repente*

Scindit se nubes, & in æthera purgat apertum.

Æn. i. 586.

If we farther examine the context, we shall still see the place in a clearer light, and plainly discover for what reasons *Virgil* chose to call both battles by the same name, rather than distinguish them, as the Historians do, by the two different names of *Pharsalia* and *Philippi*.

We must observe then, that the Poet, in this first book of his *Georgics* having laid down rules for ploughing, sowing, and reaping, and directed how the husbandman should be employed during the whole year, according to the variety of seasons and weather, comes (¶ 351) to shew by what symptoms we may discern those approaching changes of the weather:

Atque hæc ut certis possimus discere signis.

And having describ'd the common country prognostics, he insists chiefly, on those taken from the sun:

Solem certissima signa sequuntur

¶ 439.

And remarks, that the lessons we have from thence are so sure and instructive, that they not only forewarn alterations of weather, but revolutions of states; and often discover the most secret plots and conspiracies:

Solem quis dicere falsum

Audeat? Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus

Sæpe monet, fraudemque & operta tumescere bella.

¶ 465.

From hence he takes occasion in compliment to *Augustus*, to observe, that this his protecting and favourite Deity shew'd so much concern for *Rome*, upon the murder of *Julius Cæsar*, that for some time he cover'd his head with an obscure veil, and seem'd to threaten the world with perpetual darkness:

Ille etiam extincto miseratus Cæsare Romam;

Cum caput obscurâ nitidum ferrugine texit,

Impiaque æternam timuerunt sæcula noctem.

¶ 468.

And then enumerating several other strange phænomena which happen'd on that occasion, he concludes, that all these prodigies concur'd in portending to the *Romans* the continuance of their civil wars, and denouncing the vengeance of the Gods against the murderers of *Cæsar*, and that in so remarkable a manner, that there appear'd in it a particular stroke of Providence, according to the Heathen superstition, that

the

the second battle should be fought in the same province with the first, and near a second *Philippi* ^a:

*Ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis
Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi.*

Dr. *Lamotte* very justly observes (in the ^b remarks, which I refer'd to in my first letter) that there is a manifest connection between *Ergo inter sese*, and the preceding lines, and that *Ergo* is an inference from those prodigies which attended the death of *Cæsar*. I entirely agree with him therein, but I don't understand the conclusion he draws from thence. "That this connection being suppos'd, then the fight of *Pharsalia* must be entirely out of the question. For what relation, says "he, could this battle have to the death of *Cæsar*, which happen'd above "three years after?" With submission to the Doctor, the bare mentioning a second battle must necessarily have some reference to the first; and this relation is sufficient to justify the use of the words *iterum* and *bis*. But there is a farther relation here, *viz.* the resemblance between the field of battle where *Julius Cæsar* conquered, and that where his death was reveng'd. There was something *ominous* in it; something which corresponded very well with the preceding prodigies; both places near which the two battles were fought were of the same name, both within the same province, and at the foot of the same mountain. And tho' these circumstances may appear trifling in this critical age, they were certainly very material at that time. Omens have still some influence even with us, but much greater regard was universally paid to them by the ancients, and I believe the modern *Romans* will allow that no people were more superstitious in this respect than their ancestors.

Tully, in his book *De Divinatione* (which was wrote at a time very *à propos* to our present subject, *viz.* the year preceding the battle of *Philippi*) ^c runs over the whole system of the ancient divinations, and

^a *Catrou*, in his notes on *Virgil*, has observ'd, that the signs which follow'd the death of *Julius Cæsar*, were likewise prognostics of another evil, the civil war between *Octavius Cæsar* and *Antony*, and *Brutus* and *Cassius*, which was finish'd by the battle of *Philippi*. "A la verité ces signes "qui suivirent la mort de Jules Cæsar furent aussi "des pronostics d'un autre malheur, c'est de la "guerre civile qui s'éleva entre Octavien Cæsar " & Antoine contre Brutus & Cassius; & qui finit "par la bataille de Philippes." *Dissert. on Virg.* Georg. i. Note 18.— Now since he has advanc'd so far as to find the two *Philippi*, and to observe that *Virgil's* signs which follow'd the death of *Cæsar*, were prognostics of another civil war, and that that war was finish'd by the battle of

Philippi; 'tis somewhat strange that he should not make the least discovery of *Virgil's* meaning; and that he shou'd come so near the mark without ever touching it.

^b *Hist. of the Works of the Learned*, for Jan. 1738.

^c Neque solum Deorum voces Pythagorei observitaverunt, sed etiam hominum, quæ vocant Omina. Quæ majores nostri quia valere censebant, idcirco omnibus rebus agendis, *Quod Bonum, Faustum, Felix, Fortunatumque esset*, præfabantur: Rebusque divinis, quæ publice fierent, ut *Faverent Linguis*, imperabatur; inque feriis imperandis, ut litibus & jurgiis se abstinerent. Itemque in lustrandâ coloniâ, ab eo, qui eam deducebat; & cum imperator exercitum, censor popu-

amongst

amongst the rest reckons that of omens, or observations from similitude of names, which he tells us, made so great an impression on the minds of the *Romans*, as to have a share in all their affairs as well civil as religious. For instance, "When a new colony was to be planted, or "when a general reviewed an army, or a censor number'd the people, "such persons were chosen to conduct the sacrifices, whose names "seem'd to promise prosperity; and in levying recruits, the consul or "general took particular care, that the first soldier on the muster-roll "should be of a lucky name." In short, nothing was transacted without this scrupulous care: And, as an instance how far this whim prevailed, he relates the following story. "When *L. Paulus* return'd to "his house the same evening that he was elected a second time consul; "and that the war against *Perses*, King of *Macedonia*, was allotted to "him, he found his little daughter in tears, and enquiring into the "reason, she told him, that *Persa* was dead, meaning her lap-dog." Upon this, the grave consul embraced his child with great eagerness, and took what she said as a lucky omen.

'Tis true, the Philosopher, at the same time that he relates the story, very deservedly ridicules any reliance on such superstitious fancies; but the constant regard paid to them by the *Romans*, and observ'd, as we find, by *Tully* himself when consul, is a sufficient reason for the poet, at a time when he is describing all the significant prodigies which follow'd the murder of *Cæsar*, and forewarn'd the civil wars consequent thereupon, not to omit this ominous circumstance, that the same *Æmæthia*, and the same name *Philippi*, should be twice fatal to the *Romans*.

We find the ancient Historians full of the several unlucky tokens which immediately preceded the last fatal blow; ^d as the swarms of bees hovering over *Cassius's* camp; an ensign-bearer making a false step, and letting fall an image of victory; the lictors by mistake turning the crown of laurel upside down, which adorn'd their fasces; and many other such minute incidents; some of which (as they pretend) affected even *Cassius*, tho an *Epicurean*. But the most memorable story, and which most nearly concerns our present purpose, is that of the vision which appear'd twice to *Brutus*, first in *Asia* just before his passage into *Europe*,

lum lustraret; bonis nominibus, qui hostias ducerent, eligebantur. Quod idem in delectu consules observant, ut primus miles fiat bono nomine. Quæ quidem à te scis & consule et imperatore summâ religione esse servata. Prærogativam etiam majores omen justorum comitiorum esse voluerunt. Atque ego exempla ominum nota proferam. *L. Paulus*, consul iterum, cum ei bellum, ut cum rege *Perse* gereret, obtigisset, ut eâ ipsâ die domum ad vesperam rediit, filiolum

suam Tertiam, quæ tum admodum erat parva, osculans, animadvertit tristiculam. Quid est, inquit, mea Tertia? quid tristis es? Mi Pater, inquit, *Persa* periit. Cum ille, arctius puellam complexus, Accipio omen, inquit, mea filia. Erat autem mortua catella eo nomine. *Tull. de Divinat. lib. 1.*

^d Μίλισσαι πολλαὶ τὸ τῷ Κασιῷ γρηγόριον περιήχον, &c. *Dion Cassius*, Edit. Hanov. p. 351.

and again at *Philippi*, a little before the battle. As *Appian* relates the first appearance, the phantom seem'd to lay a particular stress on the name *Philippi*, 'Οφθήσομαι δέ σοι καὶ ἐν Φιλίπποις, I will appear to thee again, and that at *Philippi*; or, I will meet thee once more at a *Philippi*. Taking the words in their ominous and emphatical sense, they appear in a stronger light; the ambiguity in the name *Philippi*, gives them a greater force; and as this story must be fresh in every body's mouth, when *Virgil* wrote his *Georgics*, 'tis not improbable that he thence took the first hint of his two *Philippi*.

'Tis true there is something equivocal in this expression—*Iterum videre Philippi*. And that has been the occasion of it's being so much misunderstood; but this sort of double entendre, which in another place would be a fault, is here a beauty, and *Virgil* has shewn great judgment in knowing when to use an ambiguity. The whole drift of this passage consists in signs and wonders preparatory to a great event; and if he represents this event in the ambiguous style, which was the language of the oracles, he speaks like their Gods.

Before I quit this subject, I beg leave to ask you (but cautiously) whether in the last two verses, — *Nec fuit indignum, &c.* 'tis not possible that *Virgil* may continue the double entendre, and allude, in the names *Æmæthia* and *Hæmus*, to the derivation from Αἷμα, blood? nor is this a groundless conjecture, but an old notion which prevailed long before *Virgil's* time, that *Hæmus* (at least) took its name from blood. This appears plainly from *Apollodorus*, who speaking of the Giants wars tells us, That *Typhon* flying from *Jupiter* into *Thrace*, " and fighting with him about *Hæmus*, threw whole mountains at him, " which being retorted back upon him by thunder, much blood was " spilt upon the mountain; and from thence, 'tis said, the mountain " was call'd *Hæmus*."

It must farther be remark'd, that this blood which gave name to the mountain, was the blood of one of the Giants; and as the complement has frequently been paid to *Augustus*, to compare his success in the civil war, with the victories of *Jove* over the Giants, why may not *Virgil* allude to the same story? And as it was too trite a subject to dwell long upon, he only just hints at the comparison. — *Nec fuit indignum superis, &c.* Nor did the Gods think it unbecoming them, that the same country and mountain, which took their names from the blood of the Giant who rebelled against *Jove*, should twice be fatten'd with the blood of the *Romans*, who fought against the *Cæsars*.

* Καὶ μαχόμενος περὶ τὴν Αἷμον ὄρεα ἔβαλεν μέγαν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ὄρεϊ ἐξέκλυσεν αἷμα. Καὶ θάσος ὄρεα, τῷ τῷ ἵπ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῷ κρημνῷ πάλιν ὠθεύ-
εικ τῷ τὸ ὄρεα κληθῆναι Αἷμον, Apoll. Bibl. l. i.

I fear you will think this observation very trifling and ridiculous; but what seems monstrous at first sight, may, when seen in a true light, appear very beautiful and regular. Do but consider what has been said before of the great superstition of the *Romans*, with regard to names, and that sporting with words was the delight of their oracles; and then perhaps you will allow, that this quibble (if you will call it so) which would otherwise be unbecoming the dignity of *Virgil*, is in this place very à propos. No Poet was ever, perhaps, less guilty of this low wit than himself; but punning may not always be unseasonable in the gravest writer. He himself has shewn by the famous instance of *Ascanius's* trencher, that a little joke, when rightly applied, may (even in an epic poem) have it's grace and beauty. And I think that in this sense too it may be justly said,

Dulce est desipere in loco.

However, if you still imagine that in this latter part I have too much indulg'd an idle fancy, I hope it will not prejudice you against the other part of my interpretation. I think nothing can be plainer than that the chief spirit of the passage consists in the double *Philippi*. † “This makes the connection clear, and the inference entirely just.”

Having now done with *Virgil*, I proceed to consider all the correspondent places in the other Poets. My principal aim was to vindicate him, but as the other Poets, by imitating him, are fallen under the same or worse censures, they are equally entitled to justice. And it seems more necessary to say something in their favour, because they are entirely given up even by those few advocates who have pleaded for *Virgil*.

‡ *Lipsius*, in a note on the name *Philippi*, in *Velleius Paterculus*, lib. ii. c. 70. says, *Jure miror quid poetis aliquot in mentem venerit confundere hæc loca & urbes, quasi si utrumque bellum in iisdem campis depugnatum.* Then quoting *Virgil's Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi*, he adds, *Quem tamen excuses, quasi Philippi iterum viderint, sed non iidem.* But for *Manilius* and the other Poets, and the Historian *L. Florus*, he thinks them inexcusable. And *Vossius* in his note on the same place, says, *Non sit dubium quin geminos Philippos intelligat Maro, illos qui in Thessaliâ sunt, & alteros qui in Macedoniâ ad Hæmum montem.* *Reliqui omnes poetæ lapsi.*

These remarks from such eminent critics in favour of *Virgil*, must have been of service towards explaining him, had there not been many reasons for paying no more respect to their authority.

They don't professedly undertake the defence of *Virgil*, but only

† Dr. Lamotte's words.

‡ See Burman's Edit. of *Velleius*.

mention him cursorily in their comments on another author. Besides, they only just hint at *Virgil's* meaning, without sufficiently enlarging upon it. Again, what they say would serve only to explain the two first verses relating to the two *Philippi*, not the two latter, as to the extent of *Æmathia* and *Hæmus*. But the chief reason for disregarding their remark I take to be this: The manifest partiality which appears in their sentence. Therefore, as I observ'd before, 'tis very necessary, even to *Virgil's* justification, to clear his followers as well as himself: For when they are all brought to the same bar, it seems very unjust to acquit the principal and condemn his accomplices.

It may be the other Poets, who copy from *Virgil*, don't express themselves so artfully as their master, and for that reason they may be more liable to exception: But we must consider how difficult it is to copy exactly after so good an original; yet their design in the main may be the same: And therefore, making allowances for difference of styles, I doubt not but they may be all explain'd in the same manner. And, if I can make this appear, it will not only clear them from the aspersions thrown on them, but will be a good evidence in *Virgil's* favour; that this passage, as difficult as it has appear'd to the moderns, was not only well understood by the ancients, but likewise much admir'd, otherwise it would never have been so universally imitated.

The consideration of these articles must be refer'd to another letter, which shall conclude this subject.

LETTER VII.

Passages in other Poets explain'd in the same manner as VIRGIL. And L. FLORUS reconcil'd with the other Historians.

THE first Poet after *Virgil* who has puzzled his commentators by his battles of *Philippi*, is *Ovid*; who at the latter end of his *Metamorphosis*, introduces *Venus* complaining in the assembly of the Gods, of the barbarous stroke which she foresaw threaten'd *Julius Cæsar* in the Senate-house. To this *Jupiter* answers, that he could not avert the blow, it being decreed by fate, that *Cæsar* must fall: But at the same time assures her for her comfort, "That she shou'd give him a seat

“ in Heaven, that his adopted son and heir shou’d succeed him in the
 “ empire, and that the Gods would prosper him in his wars to revenge
 “ the death of his father:

• *Ut Deus accedat Cælo, templisque colatur*
Tu facies: Natusque suus, qui, nominis hæres,
Impositum feret urbis onus: Cæsiq; parentis
Nos in bella suos fortissimus ultor habebit.

And then concludes

Pharsalia sentiet illum,
Æmathiæque iterum madefient cæde Philippi.

As these verses manifestly relate to *Augustus*, it must be own’d, they seem at first to point out the plain of *Pharsalia*, as the place where he was to conquer as well as *Julius*, and that the same *Thessalian Philippi* (according to *Catrou* and *Rouille*) were again to be drench’d with *Roman* blood. But as this is evidently contrary to History, it follows that either *Ovid* was mistaken; or that this was not his meaning. Several of his own commentators give it up as a blunder in their author. But tho’ he was not always the most correct writer, yet I think he could not possibly be so entirely ignorant of public affairs, when he wrote his *Metamorphosis*, as to place an action at *Pharsalia* in *Thessaly*, which happen’d at *Philippi* on the borders of *Thrace*. ’Tis true he was not of age to remember the battle of *Philippi*, as has been before observ’d, that *Virgil* did; but he was born before the action: And what an unlucky planet must we suppose him born under, to think him capable of committing so gross a blunder in the most remarkable transaction of his own time? As this cannot well be conceiv’d, let us try if such a construction may not be put on his words as may reconcile them to history.

Let us consider then, that the plain of *Pharsalia* was render’d for ever memorable by the victory obtain’d there by *Julius Cæsar*: That he had there spared the lives of those by whom he was afterwards assassinated. And as *Jupiter* here promises to make the adopted son revenge that death by another signal battle, what impropriety was there in saying, that *Pharsalia* should be sensible of this victory, notwithstanding it was to be obtain’d in a distant part of the province? or in other words, that *Pharsalia* should rejoice at the vengeance taken by *Augustus* on the murderers of his father: — *Pharsalia sentiet illum.*

This construction seems to me very plain and easy, and then the last verse may be as easily understood in the same sense with *Virgil*, of a second *Philippi* to be soak’d with *Roman* blood in the same fatal province:

• *Æmathiæque iterum madefient cæde Philippi.*

• Met. lib. xv. 818, &c.

• Or *Æmathiæque*, for both are read.

As there has been some difficulty in understanding this passage, it must be entirely owing to our being so far remov'd, as we are at present, from *Pharsalia* and *Philippi*: This distance deceives us, and makes the Poet appear in a dubious light. But when he wrote, his countrymen were as well acquainted with those places, and what happen'd there, as we are with *Blenheim*, and probably much better, as it was part of their own dominions. And therefore, as the words could not possibly, at that time, be taken in the wrong sense which has been since put upon them, there cou'd be no ambiguity in comprehending their true meaning.

The next Poet to be consider'd is *Manilius*, who, according to the best accounts, liv'd about the same time with *Ovid*. This author in imitation of *Virgil*, speaking (at the latter end of the first book of his *Astro-nomicon*) of wars and conspiracies presignify'd by comets and other signs from heaven, instances particularly in those prognostics which attended the battles of *Philippi*:

Civiles etiam motus, cognataque bella
Significant, nec plura aliàs incendia mundus
Sustinuit, quàm cum ducibus jurata cruentis,
Arma Philipeos implerunt agmine campos.

From hence he takes occasion, in farther conformity with *Virgil*, to observe the fatal relation between the two battles:

Vix etiam siccâ miles Romanus arenâ
Ossa virum, lacerosque priùs superastitit artus;
Imperiumque suis conflixit viribus ipsum;
Perque patris pater Augustus vestigia vicit.

Father *Catrou*, and many others, conclude this passage to be a full proof that both battles were fought on the same individual spot. And indeed, if we understand the words in the strictest sense, and (as that father says) "according to the rigour of the letter," this seems to be the most obvious meaning. But we may with equal reason conclude, that both battles were fought, not only on the same spot, but within few days or hours, one of the other. [*Vix etiam siccâ arenâ.*] No body cou'd ever suppose these latter words shou'd be taken literally. And it is as inconsistent with history to understand the rest so: Therefore let us take the whole figuratively.

The real resemblance between the two battles consisted in this, that

* Lucain & Manilius, qui ont écrit depuis Virgile, servent de commentaire au texte que nous examinons. Ces deux écrivains, parlent plus nettement encore que Virgile de deux batailles de Pharsale & de Philippi, qui selon eux furent livrées précisément au même lieu, à entendre la

chose à la rigueur des termes. Manilius est encore plus formel que Lucain & ses vers marquent expressément les batailles de Pharsale & des Philippies données à la lettre au même lieu. See *Catrou's Critical Notes on Virg. Georg. i. Note 19.*

Augustus pursued his enemies into *Macedonia*, as *Julius* had done; in both battles *Romans* fought against *Romans*; both were fought in the same province; and in both the same party prevailed: And thus far *Augustus* trod in his fathers steps. If *Manilius* has expressed this in very bold terms, tis agreeable to his usual style; but I see nothing in it extravagant: For, what greater hyperbole is there in saying, The soldiers in the latter action trampled on the bones of those who were slain in the former, tho' at a great distance, considering both happen'd in the same province, and in the same cause, than in saying, The blood spilt in the former battle was scarce dry'd up, when the latter was fought, tho' there was six years distance between one and the other?

However, whether we allow this to be too bold a stroke in *Manilius*, or not, I think there can be no doubt but, as he introduces his two battles in the same manner with *Virgil*, he had him in view; and, to use his own words, attempts to go *per patris vestigia*; but as his genius was not equal, 'tis no wonder if he rambles a little out of the way: *Sequiturque patrem non passibus æquis.*

I come next to *Petronius*, who has the following prophetic verses relating to the *Roman* civil wars, spoken by *Fortune* to *Pluto*; in which, among other disasters, she foretels the two fatal blows of *Philippi*:

*⁠Cerno equidem geminâ jam stratos morte Philippos,
Thessaliæque rogos, & funera gentis Iberæ
Et Libyæ cerno.*

This is express'd so short, that there is nothing particular in it, more than bare mentioning those fatal blows. Besides, the *gmina mors* (if that is the true reading) may possibly be interpreted in the same sense as *Dr. Lamotte*, and the critic quoted by *Catrou*, understand *Virgil*, of the death of the two Generals, *Brutus* and *Cassius*, in two different actions. There is some greater ground here for this supposition, because the battle of *Pharsalia* is sufficiently denoted, by the beginning of the next verse — *Thessaliæque rogos*: And allowing that to be the case, then this passage must relate only to one *Philippi*; and can have nothing to do with our present dispute, wherefore I shall wave it, and proceed to examine *Lucan*.

I have already brought this author as an evidence, in my fifth letter, to prove, that there was a *Philippi* in *Thessaly* near the plain of *Pharsalia*. I shall now produce some other testimonies from him; to shew that he speaks of both battles by the single name *Philippi*; and that he lays an emphasis on the name, as if there was a fatality attending it, or, as he expresses himself on a like superstitious occasion:

^d Tornæf. in loc. & Nic. Heinf. in *Ov. Met. lib. xv. 824.* read *geminâ morte.*

Tanquam

Tanquam fortuna locorum

Bella gerat.

Lib. iv. 661.

For instance, at the latter end of the first book, when the frantic matron runs thro' the streets of *Rome*, and prophecies the calamities of the approaching civil wars. She first enumerates those brought upon them by *Julius Cæsar*, as the battle of *Pharsalia* (which she calls by the name of *Philippi*, as is before observ'd) the murder of *Pompey* in *Ægypt*; the fall of *Cato*, &c. in *Africa*; the ruin of their cause in *Spain*; and concludes that part of the tragedy, by the death of *Cæsar* in the Senate-house. Then she proceeds to the renewal of the war by *Octavius*:—*Consurgunt partes iterum*: (¶ 692.) and foreseeing the fatal battle of *Philippi*, she cries out in her fury to *Apollo*,

Vidi jam, Phæbe, Philippos.

As if she had said, "Whither are you carrying me, to see another *Philippi*!" I have seen enough of *Philippi* already;" meaning that in *Thessaly*, or the battle of *Pharsalia*. This, I think, gives a right enthusiastic spirit to this passage, and yet renders it plain and easy; and without such a construction, 'tis to me utterly unintelligible.

Again (book vii.) when the two armies of *Cæsar* and *Pompey* are actually engaged at *Pharsalia*, and the Poet sees his favourite *Brutus* exposing himself in the hottest of the action, he cries out to him in this pathetic apostrophe (¶ 590.)

Ne rue per medios nimium temerarius hostes,

Nec tibi fatales admoveris ante Philippos,

Thessaliâ periture tuâ.

Don't forestall your *Philippi*, or endeavour by your rashness to precipitate your doom, and mistake this *Philippi* for yours. 'Tis decreed indeed by fate, that you shall fall in the same province, but not 'till it is your own. * Alluding to his being afterwards made Governor of *Macedonia*.

Again, at the latter end of the seventh book, immediately after the battle of *Pharsalia*, *Lucan* makes an apostrophe to *Thessaly*, and expostulates with her, how it came to pass that the Gods should destine her to be the ruin of the *Romans*, not only by this fatal battle, but that the same country should soon be the scene of a second no less bloody action, meaning that of *Philippi*. Then expressing himself with the utmost detestation against her on both these accounts, he upon recollection makes an apology, and says,—Had she alone been criminal, she might deserve

* See Appian de Bello Civili, lib. iii. p. 856. 864. 892. and 921. Edit. Toll. *Plutarch* likewise tells us, that this province was resign'd to

Brutus by *Hortensius*, some time before the battle of *Philippi*. *Plut. Vit. Brut.*

all his imprecations, but the destruction was now become so universal, that one country, as it were, absolv'd another, and all were equally guilty; then concludes with these two verses:

*Hesperia clades, & flebilis unda Pachyni
Et Mutina & Leucas puros fecere Philippos.*

That is, these several places having participated of the guilt, have, in some measure, wiped off the stain from the two *Philippi*. For I think nothing can be more evident than that both are here intended. The *Thessalian* or *Pharsalian* could not be omitted, because it was the principal subject of the poem. Of this, Mr. Rowe was so sensible, that, without any authority, he takes the liberty in his translation, to change *Philippi* into *Pharsalia*, and renders the last verse thus:

“And *Actium* justify *Pharsalia*'s plain.”

But how does that mend the matter? It would have been equally absurd, considering all that precedes, to have said nothing of the other *Philippi*, or to imagine, that, when *Philippi* is named, *Pharsalia* only is to be understood.

The whole tenor of the apostrophe, evidently shews the necessity of mentioning both battles, which *Lucan* does by one word, *Philippos*: As Mr. Rowe might have done too, had he understood his author's double *Philippi*. In short, I believe, one may venture to affirm, that wherever *Lucan*, thro' the whole course of this poem, speaks of, or hints at both battles jointly, he never once mentions *Pharsalia*, but constantly makes use of *Philippi* to comprehend both. And I am persuaded, that the passages I have before cited (Letter V.) from *Statius* and *Sidonius Apollinaris*, relating to *Lucan*, are likewise to be understood of his double *Philippi*, viz. *Albos ossibus Italis Philippos*. *Statius*.

And, *Tantum dans lachrymas suis Philipphis, &c.* *Sidon*.

And I cannot but think that this notion of the two *Philippi*, sets all these passages in a new light, and gives them an additional strength and beauty. The only seeming difficulty I can find in *Lucan*, with regard to this dispute, is, that by his *Thessalia*, we must sometimes understand all *Macedonia*; as particularly in the place above-mention'd relating to *Brutus*,—*Thessaliâ periture tuâ*. And again, in the apostrophe to *Thessalia*, at the latter end of the same book:

*Thessalia infelix, quo tanto crimine tellus
Læsti superos, ut te tot mortibus unam,
Tot scelerum fatis premerent? quod sufficit ævum,
Immemor ut donet belli tibi damna, vetustas?
Quæ seges infectâ surget non decolor herbâ?
Quo non Romanos violabis vomere manes?*

*Ante nova venient acies, scelerique secundo
Præstabis nondum fectos hoc sanguine campos.*

Meaning by the two last verses, the battle of *Octavius* and *Antony*, against *Brutus* and *Cassius*. Lib. vii. from *Æ* 847 to 854.

Father *Catrou*, in his *Critical Notes on Virgil*,^f urges this passage as an evident proof, that both battles were fought on the same individual spot, the plain of *Pharjalia*. But pray which is most reasonable to be believ'd, that all the ancient Historians (at least all except *L. Florus*) were mistaken in the account they give us of those battles, or that *Lucan*, by a figure not unusual to Poets, puts one district of a province to signify the whole? It may be that no other author before him ever used *Theffalia* in this extensive sense; and perhaps *Virgil's* great modesty would not have permitted him to have taken such a liberty; but 'tis not much to be wonder'd at in a Poet, who being young, and of great fire and vivacity, was remarkably bold in his poetic licences, and often overleap'd the bounds which other poets prescribed themselves; and perhaps never more than in his Geography, as may be seen in his description of *Cato's* march over the sandy deserts of *Libya*, and his excursion to the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*. Book ix.

However, I think in the present case he is very excusable. We know that *Latium* was frequently put for all *Italy*; and the country we are now speaking of, *Macedonia*, was almost constantly by the Poets, and often by other writers (as has been before remarked) call'd *Emathia*, which strictly speaking, was only a small part of it. And why might not *Theffaly* have the same privilege, especially considering how great a share it bore in the civil wars? For this likewise must be taken into the account, that some remarkable accident, or the peculiar interest one district has above others, or the great share it bore in the revolution of the state, frequently gives occasion to new-name a country, or to extend the name of one district to its neighbouring provinces. This happen'd in the case of *Holland*, *Switzerland*, and many other countries; and thus *Achaia* of old, was, till the time of the *Achaian* war, no more than a small part of *Greece*, but because it was principally concern'd in that league against the *Romans*, therefore, at the conclusion of the war, when *Greece* became a *Roman* province, that whole country, together with *Peloponnesus*, was usually known by the name of *Achaia*. *Lucan* takes

^f *Lucain* apostrophe la *Theffalie*, & lui prophétise, qu'elle fera le theatre de deux combats décisifs, l'un de *Jule* contre *Pompée*, l'autre d'*Octavien* & d'*Antoine* contre *Brutus* & *Cassius*, &c. Il faut donc, qu'en effet les deux batailles se soient données reellement à la vue d'une ville de *Philippes* qui ait été voisine de *Pharjalie*. *Catrou's*

Critical Notes on Virg. Georg. i. Note 19. And again with *Rouille* in their *Roman History*.—Le text de *Lucain* & de *Manilius* est encore plus décisif, & peut tenir lieu de commentaire à celui de *Virgile*, *Malheureuse Theffalie*, &c. *Hist. Rom.* tom 18. liv. i. p. 187.

no greater liberty with *Theffaly*: That district had been the chief scene of the civil war, and had ruin'd his darling *Pompey*; therefore the Poet, thro' his whole poem, takes all opportunities to brand it with marks of his abhorrence, and to express his utmost detestation against the country which had given the first fatal blow: He extends the same cursed name to the rest of the province, which was to prove fatal to the same favourite cause.

Thus much for the Poets. But there is one thing more to be considered before I have done, and that is, the authority of one ancient Historian against the others. This argument seems, I know, to some whom I have conversed with on this subject, to have more weight in it than any thing I have before mention'd; and, if unanswer'd, may destroy, or at least weaken, whatever I have urg'd with regard to the Poets. For, notwithstanding they may be allowed to speak figuratively, yet certainly they ought rather to be understood in a strict literal sense, when that is most agreeable to History. The author here meant is *L. Florus*, who in his account of the Civil Wars between *J. Cæsar* and *Pompey*, speaks of their last famous battle, that is, the battle of *Pharsalia*, as fought on the plains of *Philippi*.—*Sic præcipitantibus fati, prælio sumpta est Theffalia: Et Philippicis campis urbis, imperii, generis humani fata commissa sunt*, lib. iv. c. 2. Again, in the following chapter, when he comes to the renewal of the war by *Augustus Cæsar*, he places the chief scene of it in *Theffaly*.—*Dum Octavius mortem patris ulciscitur, iterum fuit movenda Theffalia*, c. 3. And more expressly still in the seventh chapter, entitled *Bellum Cassii & Bruti*, he speaks of the battle of *Octavius* and *Antony* against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, as fought precisely on the same spot with that of *J. Cæsar* and *Pompey*.—*Ordinatâ, magis ut poterat, quam ut debebat, in triumviros republicâ, relicto ad urbis præsidium Lepido, Cæsar cum Antonio in Cassium Brutumque succingitur. Illi comparatis ingentibus copiis eandem illam, quæ fatalis Cnæo Pompeio fuit, arenam insederant*, c. 7. All these articles agree so exactly with the scheme of *Catrou* and *Rouille*, that methinks words cou'd not well be invented, better adapted to their purpose; and indeed, they seem to glory much therein, as a sure evidence in favour of their opinion. But perhaps upon farther examination, we may find the Historian of as little service to them, as any of their poetical friends.

Let us first then consider, that *L. Florus* is unsupported by any other

§ Voici quelque chose encore de plus convaincant. L'Histoire vient ici au secours des poètes, & les autorise. Florus parlant de bataille de Pharsale, &c. *Catrou's Dissert. on Virg. Georg. i.* Note 19. And again, in the *Rom. Hist.* tom. 18. p. 188.—L'Historien Florus & Paul Diacre se re-

unissent aux quatre premiers (*that is to the four Poets*) pour placer la scène en Thessalie entre Pharsale & Philippi, quoique ils eussent sous leurs yeux les auteurs qu'on cite pour le sentiment contraire.

ancient Historian (for *Paulus Diaconus* cannot properly be reckon'd of that number) and I think it would be doing too much honour to his little epitome, to put it in the scale against the whole body of ancient Historians, supposing him of equal value with any of the rest: Much less reasonable is it to give credit to him in opposition to them all, considering that he is not allow'd by the critics to be very correct.

'Tis by no means honourable to detract from an author's character, in order to carry a point; and therefore, granting him his due praises, and that some censures pass'd upon him are too severe, yet even the most candid must at least allow, that he is sometimes inaccurate.

For this we need go no farther than the chapter last mention'd (*De Bello Cassii & Bruti*) where that story is represented in such a manner as if there was no distance of time between the death of *Cassius* and *Brutus*; that both fell immediately, the one after the other, in the same engagement. One cannot well suppose *Florus* so ignorant as not to have known better; but his concise way of writing led him into this negligent way of expressing himself. And by this it appears, that he is not always to be understood in the strictest sense.

But without saying any more with regard to him, in comparison with the other Historians, as to his being only one against many, and not the most exact, let us farther observe, that he every where affects poetic flights; and if we consider him in that view only, we may perhaps without more ado easily reconcile him with his brethren.

Allowing then, according to my former position, that the battle between *J. Caesar* and *Pompey*, was fought on a plain between *Pharsalus* and the *Thessalian Philippi*, and that there being little distance between these two places, it might be denominated indifferently from either; allowing likewise, notwithstanding the other Historians always distinguish that battle by the name of *Pharsalia*, yet that the Poets (for certain reasons before offer'd) often give it the name of *Philippi*, we may reasonably suppose that *L. Florus*, who affected to imitate them, chuses here their language; and whilst by his *Philippicis campis*, he means *Pharsalia*, he tacitly alludes, as they do, to the second battle fought on a plain of the same name. There is very good reason for this supposition, because, whenever else he mentions this battle (which he does ¹ three

¹ Cassius inclinato cornu suorum, cum, captis Caesaris castris, rapido impetu recipientes se equites videret, fugere arbitratus, evadit in tumultum, inde pulvere & strepitu, etiam nocte vicina, eximentibus gestæ rei sensum, cum speculator quoque in id missus, tardius renunciaret, transactum de partibus ratus, uni de proximis auferendum præbuit caput. Brutus etiam cum in Cassio suum animum perdidisset, ne quid ex constituti fide resignaret (ita enim par superesse bello convenerat)

ipse quoque uni comitum suorum confodiendum præbuit latus. *Lib. iv. c. 7.*

² In Africa cum civibus multò atrocius quam in Pharsalia.

Nihil inter Pharsaliam & Thapson, nisi quod amplior, eoque acrior Cæsarianorum impetus fuit.

Quartus triumphus, Jubam, & Mauros, & his subactam ostendebat Hispaniam. Pharsalia & Thapfos, & Munda nusquam. *L. Flor. lib. iv. c. 2.*

several times in this same chapter) he constantly calls it in the historical language, *Pharsalia*, and in this one place only names it from *Philippi*, and then prefaces the sentence with *præcipitantibus fatis*, and repeats the word *fata* again at the latter end of the same sentence, thereby manifestly, I think, intimating the fatality which attended the commonwealth at the two *Philippi*. Secondly, as *Thessaly* was the principal scene of the subversion of the state, we may suppose that *Florus* uses it, in the second article, poetically for all *Macedonia*, a part for the whole. And then, Thirdly, it easily follows, that by *Eandem illam arenam*, &c. no more is meant, than that *Brutus* and *Cassius* had possessed themselves of the same province, that amphitheatre which had before been *fatal* to *Pompey*.

And here it may be remark'd, that the same author, in another place, speaking of the beginning of this civil war, uses the same metaphor, *Arena*, to signify, not a single field, but expressly a whole province; *Prima civilis belli arena Italia fuit; cujus arces levibus præfidiis Pompeius infederat*. Lib. iv. c. 2. 'Tis true, the sense I have put upon these passages, is very different from what appears to be the more obvious meaning, and therefore they have been very liable to be mistaken; but the difficulty ceases, if we only consider what this Historian, as well as the Poets, chiefly aim'd at, a superstitious fatality, that the two famous battles which completed the ruin of the commonwealth, should both be fought in the same province, and both near a *Philippi*.

Florus was very superstitious with regard to little incidents, which he look'd upon as the orders of destiny. So lib. ii. c. 14. speaking of the third *Macedonian* and *Punic* wars happening at the same time, he says, *Quodam fato, quasi ita convenisset inter Poenos & Macedonas ut tertio quoque vincerentur, eodem tempore utrique arma moverunt*. This prevail'd especially as to names. So in the following chapter, when the Consul *Mancinus* had taken *Carthage*, excepting only the *Byrsa*, *Florus* observes, that the finishing stroke was by Fate reserv'd to the name of *Scipio*. *Quamvis profligato urbis excidio, tamen fatale Africæ nomen Scipionum videbatur. Igitur in alium Scipionem conversa respublica, finem belli reposcebat. Hunc Paulo Macedonico procreatum Africani illius magni filius in decus gentis assumpserat; hoc scilicet Fato, ut quam urbem concusserat avus, nepos everteret*. Again, lib. ii. c. 6. upon the sudden taking of *Carthage* in *Spain*, he remarks thus, *Omen Africanæ victoriæ fuit, quod tam facile victa est Hispana Carthago*. I own, these may seem very trifling circumstances; but I only mention them to shew, that an Historian of such a turn may easily be suppos'd capable of calling the battle of *Pharsalia* by the name of *Philippi*, for the sake of the

the ominous conceit, if there was any town in the neighbourhood which could in the least justify him in so doing.

It may be likewise urg'd, that the poetical turn given to these expressions, is by no means suitable to History, whatever liberty may be allow'd to Poets. Be that as it will, I will not pretend to justify them on that score. 'Tis certain, that at the time *Florus* wrote, the simplicity of the *Roman* style was very much adulterated; but every author's manner of writing is the best comment upon him. And it is sufficient to our present purpose, if what Dr. *Lamotte* (in the letter before mention'd) says of this author be true, "that he is full of flights and poetical conceits, and every where gives into the wonderful." By this means, all that he has said may easily be accounted for, without supposing him guilty of a gross blunder, or charging him with contradicting the concurrent testimony of all the other Historians.

It may farther be observ'd, that as *Florus* thro' all his work is fond of poetical expressions, so 'tis probable, that in his account of the civil wars, he particularly follows the author of the *Pharsalia*, who chose them for his subject: From him he learnt to place the battle of *Pharsalia* in the fields of *Philippi*, and to extend the name of *Theffaly* to all *Macedonia*. According to the best accounts, they were both of the same family, and the Historian inherited not only the Poet's name, *Annæus*, but his spirit, and manner of writing, with this difference only, that one was an historical Poet, the other a poetical Historian.

I have now gone thro' the several windings and turnings of this perplex'd controversy; and hope, I have made out what I first undertook to prove: That neither *Virgil*, nor the ancient Historians, can, with any reason, be supposed ignorant where the battles of *Pharsalia* and *Philippi* were fought: And that notwithstanding they seem to have been long at variance on that account, they mean the same thing; the difference between them being entirely owing to their being misunderstood by their interpreters; as it often happens that old friends quarrel, when those who are employed between them mistake their master's meaning, and blunder in delivering their message. I have said a great deal on so small a subject, but if agreeable to truth, I hope you will pardon the length, especially considering that several other conjectures on this affair, which are manifestly wrong, and serve only to embarrass it, would (if put together) make a much larger volume.

'Tis true the subject itself must appear to many, very trifling. They would say, that disputing so long about a single expression, was making much ado about nothing; and that it is of little consequence whether this or that passage in *Virgil*, or any other author, is rightly understood or not. To such, the length of one of these letters would be sufficient
to

to prevent their reading it. But I knew to whom I wrote, and therefore thought I could not be too full and particular, in settling a point, which has been so long controverted; and if I have done this to your satisfaction, I shall think my time not ill employed.

My principal design, as I at first inform'd you, was only to acquit *Virgil*; but I found his cause so interwoven with that of the other Poets, and one of the Historians, that it was absolutely necessary to explain them, in order to clear him, and make one entire reconciliation. The doing this brought me into such a wilderness, that it required some time to find the way out; and puts me in mind of that intricate pass, mention'd from *Appian* in my second letter, thro' which *Rastupolis* led *Brutus* and *Cassius*, when he undertook to shew them a new way to *Philippi*. They were obliged, as you may remember, to open a defile thro' a thicket of woods and briars, and the soldiers found themselves entangled in so many difficulties, that they were ready to stone their guide, on a suspicion that he was leading them out of the way. But I hope, after all, you will acknowledge with them, that, tho' the road has been bad, I have at last brought you right to the true *Philippi*.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most Obedient,

And most Affectionate Humble Servant,

E. HOLDSWORTH.

FINIS.